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Persepolis in Retrospect: Histories of Discovery and Archaeological Exploration at the Ruins of Ancient Parseh

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Persepolis in Retrospect: Histories of Discovery and Archaeological Exploration at the Ruins of Ancient Parseh

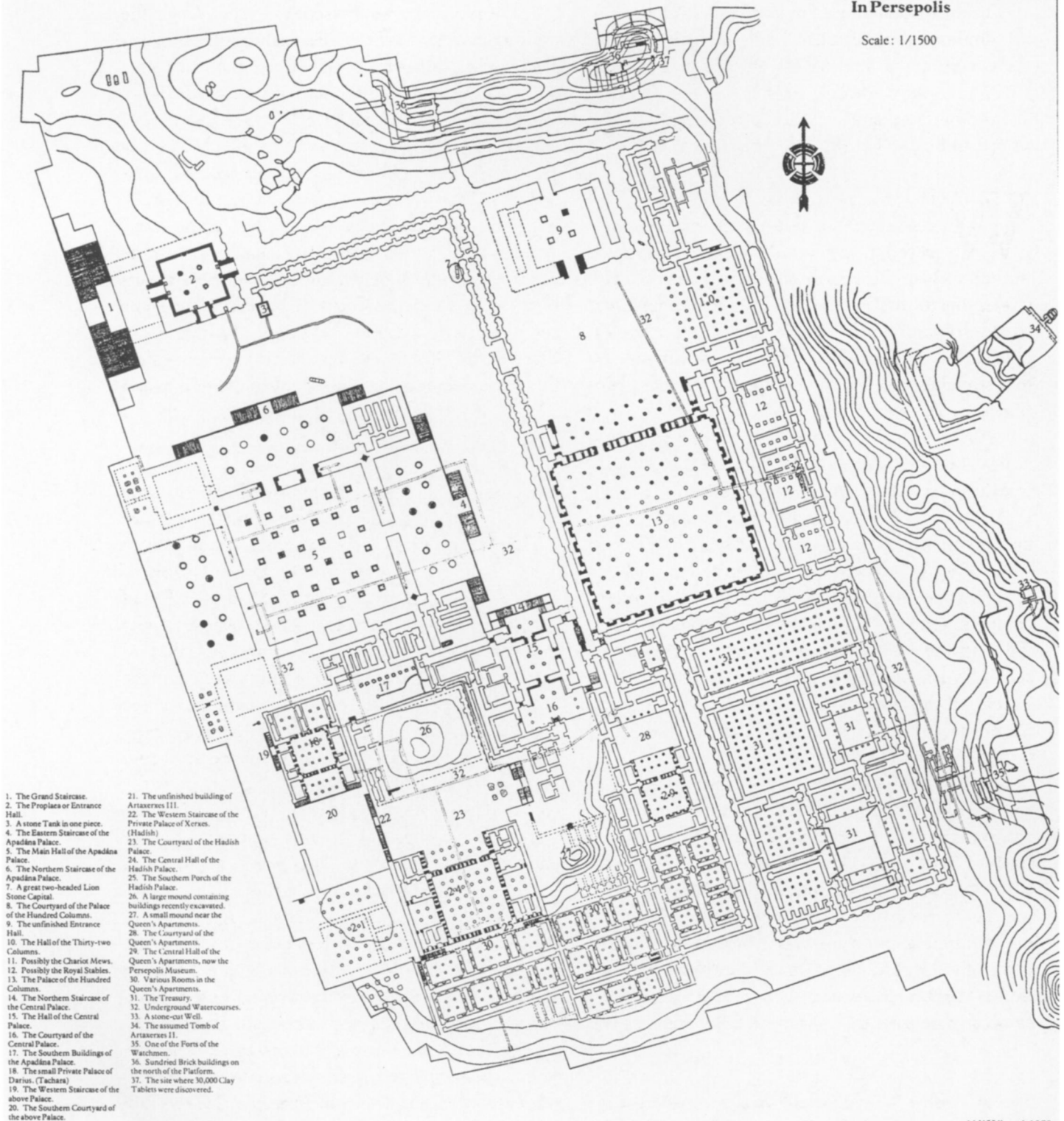
For my father, to whom I owe my passion for the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid.

ABSTRACT

Since the fall of the Achaemenid empire in 330 B.C.E. the ruins of Parseh (Grk. Persepolis), in the imperial heartland region (modern Fars), have projected manifold aspects of symbolic power and mystique. Considerable attention has been devoted in Western scholarship to the investigations and perspectives of early European visitors to the site, followed by attention to the results of European and North American archaeological efforts. But comparatively little attention in Western scholarship is devoted either to Iranian symbolic associations with Persepolis or to the legacy of Iranian documentary and archaeological work there. This essay reviews a range of archival photographs and documents as well as published Iranian work to reveal new aspects of the history and historiography of Iranian engagement with Persepolis—following its destruction by Alexander and across the ages through the 1970s. In doing so, the article ponders the sense in which all the archaeological excavations at Persepolis have been expected to fulfill the double goal of symbolic conversation with highly charged notions of the past and scientific achievement with respect to empirical discovery. Through the intricacies of these crosscurrents, Persepolis has maintained its unique status in Iran as a national monument *par excellence*.

Plan of The Imperial Achaemenian Palaces In Persepolis

Scale: 1/1500



Tout est grand et saisissant d'ailleurs dans l'austère paysage qui sert d'encadrement à Takht-i-Djemchid: l'immensité de la plaine qui domine l'antique palais, les lignes majestueuses des montagnes dont l'aspect change à chaque pas, la pureté de l'atmosphère, l'azur d'un ciel profond, et jusqu'au silence de ces lieux habités. (Flandin 1851: 149)

WITH THESE WORDS Eugène Flandin, the celebrated French artist and traveler, conveyed the profound impact of Persepolis during his visit there more than 150 years ago. He was neither the first nor the last visitor to be impressed by the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid (the “Throne of Jamshid”)—the beautiful citadel of a once vibrant city that stretched out across an expansive fertile plain (the Marv Dasht) in Fars.

Monuments all over the world have played symbolic roles as emblems of identity, epitomizing and transforming into historical legacy selective towering moments of achievement along the stream of human civilization. Among these formidable cultural icons of place are the ruins at Takht-e Jamshid. In this instance, the iconic status has served the often competing interests of the Western world as well as the long and varied sequence of Iranian culture itself. The monumental structures there (fig. 1) were conceived and constructed as an ambitious program under the reign and patronage of Darius I, the Great (r. 521–486 B.C.E.). As ruler of a vast empire, he was not content with the small capital that his predecessor and founder of the empire, Cyrus II, the Great, had begun to build at Pasargadae some 80 km to the north. With the foundation of Parseh (conventionally called by the Greek name, Persepolis), Darius put his own seal on the dynastic heartland both for his own time and for posterity.¹ Indeed, the *raison d'être* of Persepolis—as an urban complex crowned by the Takht, with its strong walls and elaborate ceremonial monuments—cannot be fully understood

without embracing the crucial idea of transmission of a message to later generations.

The rediscovery of Persepolis by the West in the early modern era has been a fascinating topic of growing interest in academic research and exhibition presentation (e.g., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991; Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers 1991; André-Salvini et al. 1998). Such work has, however, maintained a focus on European exploration and documentation. Similarly, most archaeological discussion and interpretation of Persepolis has been based on the European and American excavation reports. By comparison, rather little has become widely known about how Iranians have received and considered Persepolis from the time soon after its devastation by the army of Alexander of Macedon in 330 B.C.E. up into modern centuries. Furthermore, reference to the archaeological findings and interpretive strategies of Iranian investigators at the site have been rare in Western scholarship.

Contrary to the impression created in Western academe of a dearth of Iranian involvement in the ruins at Persepolis, there is, in fact, much to ponder here. The first years of the twentieth century saw a keen interest in excavating the ancient ruins of Persepolis—an epic enterprise that had the effect of catalyzing national interest in archaeological activity throughout Iran. What were the processes that inspired this attention, giving new national status to the place? How did Iran in those years come to see the site as a monument of Iranian history *par excellence*, the exploration of which would influence the future of all archaeology in Iran? To what extent have the efforts of centuries of exploration at Persepolis contributed to our present knowledge of Iranian history and that of the Achaemenid period? How, in short, has Darius's city fared in its aim to converse with posterity? In addressing such questions, this article will review selected key evidence of early Iranian engagement with the site. Additionally, it will survey European and Iranian archaeological exploration, visual documentation, and excavation there, highlighting the Iranian perspectives and agendas in such work by featuring published work in Persian that has received little attention in the West as well as recently accessed Iranian archival material.

FIG. 1.

Plan of Takht-e Jamshid as redrawn with additions by Ali Hākemi in 1950. After Mostafavi 1978.

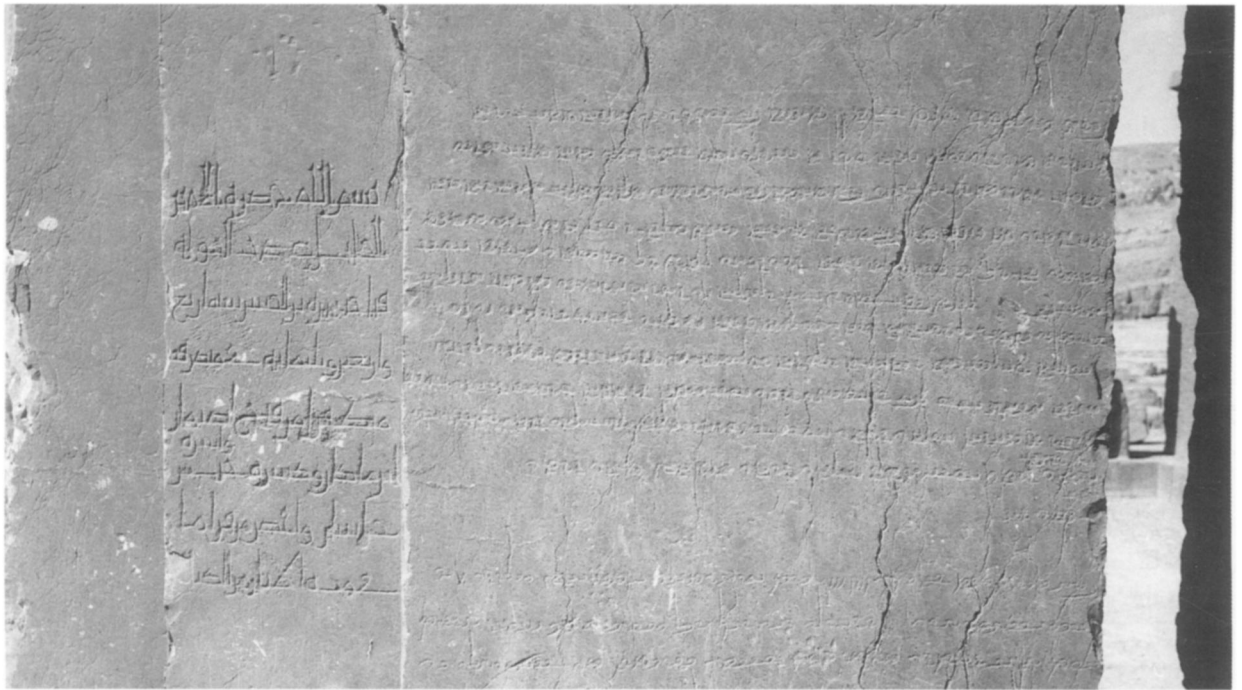


FIG. 2.

One of the stone doorways of the Palace of Darius (the Tachara) with inscriptions in Pahlavi of the Sasanian king Shapur II (at right) and the Kūfic inscripition of Azad-od-Dowleh dated to the tenth century C.E. (at left). Photo courtesy of A. Hākemi.

OF MYTH AND REALITY: TAKHT-E JAMSHID/PERSEPOLIS

Mythologies. After Persepolis was plundered, destroyed, and abandoned in 330 B.C.E., the Takht became a place of fascination, evoking a glorious past of spiritual/mythological associations rather than literalistic historical recollections. A few decades after the fall of the empire local rulers seem to have reoccupied a limited area of the southwest quadrant of the Takht. Remnants of construction and reuse of structural and decorative elements from various locations at the site of the so-called Palace H bear witness to this (Schmidt 1953: 274–75; Tilia 1972: 243–316, esp. 315–16). But no attempt was made to rebuild the place *in toto* or to reestablish it either as a working administrative center or as the routinely used palatial backdrop for dynastic rituals and royal ceremonies. A passage by the Roman author Diodorus relates that Peucestas, the trusted officer whom Alexander had installed as his administrator in Pars, used the Takht as a setting for an elaborate military

banquet and religious sacrifice toward the end of the fourth century B.C.E. (Diod. 19.22). Whether or not this text recounts a specific event that actually occurred centuries before Diodorus recorded it, the words somehow ring true in a general way. They can be understood as an interesting reflection of a pervasive situation that runs like a thread through the post-Achaemenid history of Persepolis. For the ruins of the Takht did indeed continue occasionally to perform as settings for affirmation of a notion of continuity with more ancient traditions as well as for symbolic practices of rulership and religious observance in the Persian heartland.

In terms of active urban life, the city of Istakhr, already in existence during Achaemenid times, gained greatly in stature following the fall of Persepolis. The Sasanian kings, themselves native to Fars and probably descendants of the Achaemenids, used Istakhr as a royal residence and regional center. But they remained attracted by the ruins of Persepolis, only 5 km away and so magnificently sited against the mountains. They did not seem to know

an ancient name for the place, referring to it by the descriptively evocative term Sād-Sotūn (100 Columns). Yet they were moved by its historical aura and wished to establish a spiritual connection with the bygone rulers who had created it. Shapur II is proudly advertised through two inscriptions in Pahlavi (Middle Persian) engraved on the southern face of the east jamb of the doorway linking the main hall to the portico of the Palace of Darius (the Tachara) [fig. 2]).² One of these bore witness to a royal visit in the second year of the kingship of Shapur II (r. 309–379 C.E.), and the other was carved by two nobles in his honor decades later in his long career. The text of the earlier inscription reads:

In the month of Spandarmad, in the second year of the reign of His Zoroastrian Majesty Shapur [II], the king of kings of Eran and Aneran, whose origin is from the gods. At that time when Shapur, the king of the Sakae, king of Hindustan, Sakistan and Turan down to the seashore . . . traveled on this road, the road to Istakhr to Sakistan, and graciously came here to Sād-Sotūn, he ate bread in this building. . . . And he organized a great feast, and he had divine rituals performed, and he prayed for his father and his ancestors, and he prayed for Shapur, the king of kings, and he prayed for his own soul, and he also prayed for the one who had built this building. (After Wiesehöfer 1996: 223)

Two incised sketches of Sasanian princes on horseback were carved on the stone elements of the so-called Harem of Xerxes, with another (of a standing figure) occurring on the walls of the Palace of Darius (Schmidt 1953: 227, 258). Here, as well as on the monuments of the Achaemenids at the nearby royal burial site of Naqsh-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970: 45–49), the Sasanian kings inserted themselves and their deeds into the narrative of Iranian history alongside their illustrious predecessors. In addition to applying important inscriptions and visual representations on and adjacent to Achaemenid monuments in Greater Persepolis, the Sasanians emulated major Achaemenid motifs visible on the still-standing ruins of the Takht for their own imperial presentations (Schmidt 1970: 122–36, pls. 80–95).³

Later, in Islamic times, inscriptions engraved by order of the Bouyid princes on the stone remnants of the great palaces testify to the inspirational effect of the ruins on new generations of Iranian rulers addressing themselves to a long line of predecessors. Prince Azad-od-Dowleh, for instance, ordained that an inscription in Arabic be carved at Persepolis in 344 A.H./955 telling of his visit there. In it, he explained that he had Marāsand, the *mobad* (“priest”) of Kazerun, interpret for him the Pahlavi inscriptions from the time of Shapur II (Mostafavi 1978: 218). It is clear that, notwithstanding any loss of specific historical knowledge about the precise identity of the Achaemenid builders of the monuments at Persepolis, a crucial essence of its symbolic value was handed down over the centuries. This essence reinforced Persepolis as a place of spiritual resonance with Iranian traditions of noble greatness, transcending myriad sociopolitical changes.

Additional nuances of meaning accrued to the ruins on the Takht as succeeding eras attached special symbolic qualities to them. They acquired the status of legend through association with Jamshid, the mythical hero-king of ancient Iran, to whom the construction of the monuments became attributed. The inscription of Shapur II in the Palace of Darius proves that the Sasanians knew Persepolis as Sād-Sotūn.⁴ But it is likely that already in Sasanian times the ruins were also known as Takht-e Jamshid. When the poet Firdowsi wrote his epic, the *Shahnameh* (the Book of Kings, completed in 1010 C.E.), he used both names; the connection of Jamshid with Persepolis is likely to have had a long history already. The metaphorical concept of the citadel platform as a *takht* (a throne) goes all the way back to Darius himself, who described it thus in one of the inscriptions on the south wall.⁵

One of the earliest post-ancient descriptive references to Persepolis appears in the characterization of the Palace of Solomon contained in one of the oldest surviving books in the Persian language: the Persian translation of Tabari’s *Commentary on the Koran*. Here notions of the mythical Iranian Jamshid and the biblical Solomon merge in the attribution of Persepolis. Tabari’s *Commentary* was prepared at the Samanid court in the early years of the tenth century. It preceded the earliest European allusions to Persepolis by several hundred years (Shahbazi 1378/

1999: 3).⁶ The subtleties of Iranian engagement with this place in early Islamic times deserve to be addressed with rigor and critical acumen. An excellent example of what is possible is the interesting article by A.-S. Melikian-Shirvani (1971), which has considered in some detail the mystical significance of the ruins.⁷ As Melikian-Shirvani has pointed out, the dialogues between the present and the past created by generations of rulers inscribing Persepolis—sometimes explicitly conscious of placing a new text in proximity to an earlier one—created fugal themes, the harmonies of which enhanced one another (Melikian-Shirvani 1971: 38). This notion, calibrated to mythical and mystical ranges of meaning, has been at the heart of the resonance of the ruins with Iranian tradition. It reflects a very different approach to monuments and history than that exercised by the Western travelers who have been discussed at length in other scholarly contexts. The Europeans sought positivistic, material-world connections with the palaces and personae of the Achaemenid Persian kings. They sought out connections to an ancient Orient as they understood it (rather uncritically in those days) from classical and Biblical sources: an ancient Orient meant to serve narratives of a Western rather than an Iranian romance with the past. The early European visitors were, to a significant degree, inscribing a different history and a different concept of history onto Persepolis.

The Iranian modes of connection with Persepolis took various turns. A sense of the everlasting *melancholy* of the ruins at Takht-e Jamshid (as evidence of a glorious built environment now re-naturalized and given over to the animal kingdom) is evoked in the fatalistic refrain of the celebrated Omar Khayyām (whose eleventh-century writings were arranged posthumously into continuous verse entitled the *Rubāiyāt*):

They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshid gloried and drank
deep. (Khayyām quatrain 17)

In the early twelfth century appeared the *Fars-nameh*, attributed to Ebn-e Balkhi, where the author describes the fortress of Jamshid as the most marvelous accomplishment of this mythical hero-king:

He [Jamshid] built a palace at the foot of the hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world. At the foot of the hill, he laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in color, the platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides 30 cubits. In the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy to ascent that horsemen could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns of solid blocks in white stone so finely worked that even in wood it might be impossible to make the like by painting or carving; and these columns are very tall, and different in pattern and design, and among the rest there are two columns in particular which stood before the threshold, these being square in shape, and formed of a white stone that resembled marble. Nowhere else in all provinces of Pars is any stone like this found, and no one knows whence these blocks were brought.⁸

Hamdollah Mostowfi, in his *Nozhat-ol Qolub*, composed in the first half of the fourteenth century, in the course of a description of Istakhr quotes Ebn-e Balkhi with only minor changes. But following a somewhat different line, Muhammad ibn Mahmud Hamadani, in his *Ajāʾeb-Nameh* (Book of Wonders) of about 590 A.H./1194, considered the monuments of Pasargadae and Persepolis to be among the works that monsters must have made, so incredible were the engineering feats they represented:

And in the palace of Jamshid, as it is called, a thousand columns have been erected, each one of which is forty-eight cubits in height, and their girth is such that four men cannot encompass it with their arms extended, and it was not within human capacity to set them up, and many have claimed that in that age, even by mechanical means, it would not be possible. And it is clear that it was done by demonic power. And in this black stone edifice [the Palace of Darius] there are figures carved in stone of Daylamites and attendants, and the hair of the Daylamites is curly, and the style of hair of the Turks cannot be described, and until one has seen them, the

wonder of them cannot be imagined, for the stones erected one above another weigh each ten thousand “man” [45 tons], and are so closely fitted that there is not a hair’s breadth between each stone. And two great bulls have been carved, with hoofs as a bull, and a beard as a man, twelve cubits long and high, and of what weight only God knows, one on one side, and another on the opposite side, such as in the present age no man could erect. If it be said that a genius or fairy had made it, this would be acceptable to the intellect. (Adapted from Mostafavi 1978: 22)⁹

Descriptions. Situated on the natural route linking the Persian Gulf to the north of the Iranian plateau, Persepolis was an unavoidable station for travelers. Europeans who visited Persepolis from the fourteenth century onward have left us their passing comments or full-blown narratives. The significance of their early explorations has been summarized in two very useful publications (Gabriel 1952; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991). Nevertheless, further details need to be added here. The Age of Enlightenment was an intense period of “scientific” travel for the sake of acquiring knowledge. It was in this period that the antiquity of Persepolis and its identification as an historical site were established. The earliest extant visual documents of the site in the form of drawings and sketch plans appeared at this point. Credit for the first identification of the ruins as the ancient Persepolis goes to the Spaniard Figueroa (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 6). When Figueroa visited Persepolis in the seventeenth century, he had a copy of Diodorus at hand. He would have read Diodorus’s version of the violent sacking and burning of the city (“the most hated in Asia”) as retribution for the Achaemenid invasions of Greece (Diod. 17.70–72). It was Jean Chardin, the distinguished French traveler, who left the first thorough description of the ruins (Chardin 1735; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 15–17). Chardin made the important observation that the cuneiform inscriptions carved on the window frames of the Palace of Darius were inlaid with gold. Indeed, the other inscriptions of the site may also have been inlaid with precious metals, traces of which were still visible in the seventeenth century. He ex-

pressed his delight at wandering over the beautiful and lush Marv Dasht—in the company of Arrian, Quidus Curtius, Diodorus, and other classical authors. He truly appreciated the magnificence of the ruins even though many of his interpretations of their purpose were faulty (Ferrier 1996: 155–64). His sympathetic relation to contemporary Persia and its traditions was multifaceted, informed in interesting ways by his religious inclinations, his French Huguenot background (which marginalized him in his native land), and his eagerness to learn about the Islamic faith (Ferrier 1996: 97).

Forty-three years before, Persepolis had been visited by another Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. In contrast to Chardin, Tavernier exuded great disdain for the site: “Car enfin, ce ne sont que des vieilles colonnes, les unes sur pied les autres par terre, et quelques figures très mal faites” (Tavernier 1677: 657). The significance of Tavernier’s visit lies in the fact that he was accompanied by Philip Angel, a Dutch painter and draftsman. Angel apparently shared his comrade’s dislike for Persepolis. He spent eight days drawing the ruins and then complained that he had wasted his time because the monuments weren’t worth drawing (Tavernier 1677: 657). He had arrived in Persia around 1651 with an embassy of the Dutch East India Company in order to teach Shah Abbas II the art of drawing (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 10). It may well be that Angel’s renderings of the ruins at Persepolis were in fact produced on the order of Shah Abbas II. Certainly, if his distaste for the art was as total as Tavernier suggests, he would not have spent eight days on the task without the pressure of a very important obligation. This implies that the great Safavid king was eager to place himself into relation with the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid through production of a visual record of the site that would bear the stamp of his patronage.

Subsequent visits by Europeans over much of the eighteenth century were mostly focused on the enigmatic “arrow-headed” (cuneiform) inscriptions there (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 22–25 for a good summary). The decipherment of Old Persian was a major milestone in the study of Achaemenid Iran, opening up many new avenues of interpretation based on Persian as well as classical and Biblical texts.

PHOTOGRAPHY AND EMERGING ARCHAEOLOGY

With the creation of national museums in Europe from the second half of the eighteenth century and the resulting increased demand for art objects, travelers attempted to investigate further by excavating for portable artifacts and removable architectural elements. Unfortunately, very few of them left records describing their digging operations. James Morier (1780–1849), a British diplomat and traveler of Swiss origin, visited the site twice and decided to carry out excavations there. On his first visit in 1809, Morier came to Persia with Sir Harford Jones, the first British envoy to the court of Fath-Ali Shah Qajar. In 1811, he returned to Persia as secretary to the embassy of Sir Gore Ouseley. After Ouseley's departure from Tehran, Morier took over the charge of the British Mission for a year as minister *ad interim* (Wright 1977: 83).¹⁰ Aside from his well-known picaresque novel, *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Isfahan*, Morier published the accounts of his travels in *A Journey to Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* (1812) and *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* (1818). He is also known as the first to draw attention to the fact that the so-called Tomb of Mother of Solomon should correspond to the monument described by the classical authors such as Arrian and Strabo as the tomb of Cyrus the Great (Stronach 1978: 2–3). Having read the accounts left by Jean Chardin (1735) and Cornelius Le Bruyn (1737), he had become acquainted with the ruins before arriving in their midst. He writes on his explorations as follows:

I went early in the morning to the ruins, which were situated about a mile from my habitation, attended by the stone-cutters. Considering the quantity of sculpture remains that had fallen from their original positions, and which were spread about the ruins in great profusion, I did not hesitate to appropriate such parts of them as seemed the most fitting to be sent to England. . . . The most interesting part of the ruins, in point of sculptural detail, is certainly the front of the staircase, which leads to the great hall of columns; and here I found many fallen pieces, correspond-

ing to those still erect. I caused one large stone to be turned, upon which was sculptured the busts of two large figures. It was impossible to carry away the whole block, as I had no other mode of conveyance than the backs of mules and asses, consequently the two figures were obliged to be separated; but unfortunately a vein running across the upper part of the stone, the head-dress of one of the figures was broken off in the operation. The Persians do not know the use of the saw in stone-cutting, therefore my dissections were performed in a very rudder manner. . . . Both Le Bruyne and Chardin have only given one line of figures on the left staircase; but as it was evident that in order to complete the symmetry there must have been the same number on the left as there are on the right, I hired some labourers from the surrounding villages, and made them dig. To my great delight, a second row of figures, highly preserved, were discovered, the details of whose faces, hair, dresses, arms, and general character, seemed but the work of yesterday. (Morier 1818: 75–76)

Shahryar Adle has ardently criticized Morier's practices:

He [Morier] did not ask himself whether or not, under the ethical or legal standards prevailing at the time in Persia, or even in England, the unauthorized removal of a work of art would deserve reprehension. Nor did he realize that he had at least made an error of management by entrusting the task to Persians, whom he considered devoid of any skill or quality and corrupt. (Adle: 2000: 230, my translation from the Persian)

Morier continued his work for two days, after which it was interrupted by the local governor. Then he made inquiries to locate other ruins in the region as well as coins and gems. He was not successful in this pursuit either. His next effort was to dig the "subterranean passages that traverse the ground on which Persepolis is built." He recognized these passages as sewage canals, but once again he complained of not being as lucky as Chardin (who in his first attempt had been able to discover them). Morier describes this venture as follows:

I had several people with me with candles and lanterns, but we found ourselves stopped short by a very narrow passage, after having walked some forty paces upright. We then crept through this on our hands and knees, and again came to a higher part. Again we proceeded, and then were obliged to crawl on our bellies, until there was only room to put one's head through, when we thought it time to return. (Morier 1818: 75–76)¹¹

He also explored the structure known as the Unfinished Tomb (Schmidt's Tomb VII), mistaking the large cuttings of the rock, which had been left unfinished, for "intricate avenues, as to form a labyrinth" (Morier: 86). In July of the same year, Morier returned to Persepolis for further digging, now in the company of Robert Gordon (1791–1847), another member of Gore Ouseley's mission. This time the local governor was unable to obstruct his activities. With the help of some artillerymen, Morier cleared away the "very narrow passage into the first tomb described by Chardin" (apparently Schmidt's Tomb V) and briefly explored the interior tomb chamber that Chardin had mentioned. Gordon meanwhile hired some villagers to dig for him "near the front of the staircase" [of the Apadana] that Morier had previously uncovered. Gordon wrote enthusiastically to his brother, Lord Aberdeen, about his finds. Gordon's unbridled pilfering led Ouseley and his companions to criticize him: not for unethical behavior toward the ancient Persian heritage but for glutting the antiquities market back in England. Gordon promised not to do this and ultimately sought Lord Aberdeen's partnership in antiquities dealing (Curtis 1998: 48). Gordon found sculptural fragments, including a section from the Apadana showing a chariot drawn by two horses, which he gave to Ouseley, who then sent them to England (Morier 1818: 114–15).¹²

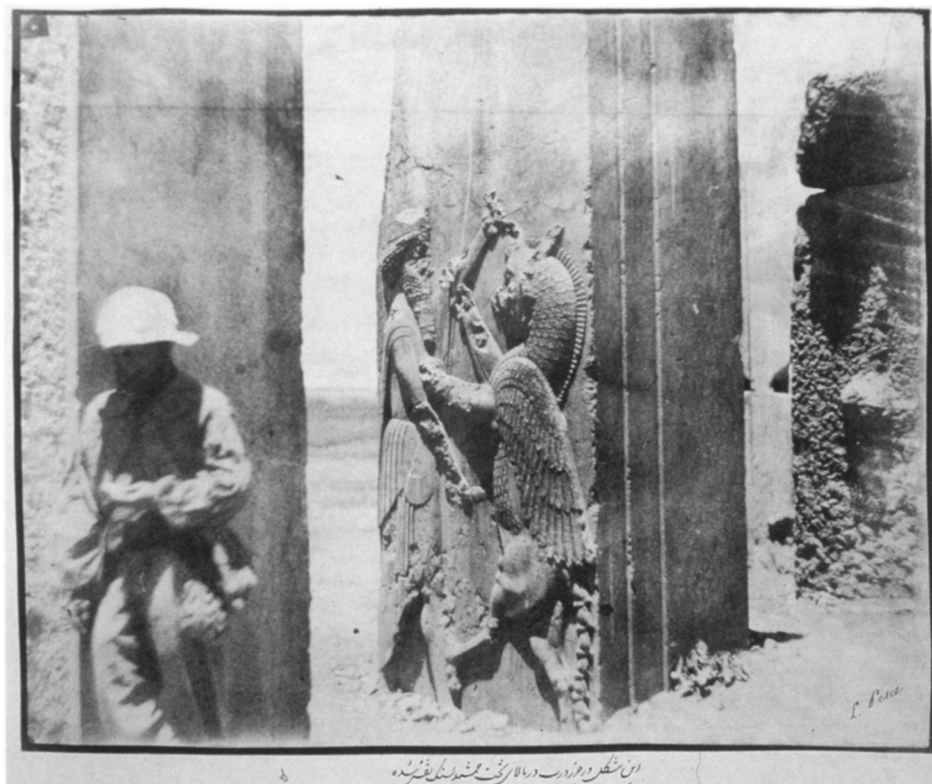
Despite the removal of many elements from Persepolis, some important scientific discoveries continued to be made. In 1839, the Frenchman Charles Texier observed that the stone sculptures at Persepolis may well have been originally colored. He proceeded to conduct chemical experiments and was able to show that there had, in fact, been paint on the reliefs (Texier 1842–52: 189). His proposed recon-

struction of the structures in full color was not apparently taken as seriously as were those by two other French artists, Eugène Flandin and Pascal Coste (1843–54), who made the first drawings of the ruins deemed to be accurate and reliable in the late 1840s (André-Salvini et al. 1998).¹³ The discomfort and difficulties encountered during their travels in Persia did not prevent Flandin (1851: 211) from admiring the ruins of Persepolis in his concluding words: "on peut dire que les monuments de Takht-i-Djemchid sont parmi ceux du vieux monde, les plus étonnants et plus admirables que le voyageur puisse rencontrer. . . . Non! à Persépolis tout est art, tout est élégance." The publication of Flandin and Coste is typically praised as an invaluable work of artistic graphic documentation, but Flandin's written account (1851: 145–242) contains interesting observations on the structures that likewise deserve attention.

By this time, photography begins to play a role in the history of the exploration of Persepolis. In the summer of 1266 A.H./1850, Jules Richard, a Frenchman working in Iran, was sent on the order of Nasser-ed-Din Shah (r. 1848–96) to take photographs of the ruins. Richard failed to receive the necessary funds to cover his travel expenses due to the government's financial problems, and he returned to Tehran midway through his job without having fulfilled his task. Despite many years of service in Iran, Richard seems not to have grasped the significance of Nasser-ed-Din Shah's command. Although this was a difficult period, when Amir Kabir was reorganizing the country's financial system, the king's passion for photography would ultimately have carried the day and would have guaranteed that a pay order would eventually come through. If Richard had fully understood the far-reaching impact a photographic record of the site might have had on his career, it is difficult to imagine that he would not have done the work either at his own expense or with borrowed funds pending the release of the shah's promised stipend (Adle 1983: 255–56; 2000: 231).¹⁴ Instead, it was eight years later that Luigi Pesce, an Italian infantry officer from Naples, took the first photographs of the ruins at Persepolis and Pasargadae. He did so at his own expense.¹⁵ Pesce presented his album to Nasser-ed-Din Shah on 15 Ramezan 1274 A.H./29 April 1858 (fig. 3). In the dedication note to his album he wrote:

FIG. 3.

The first known photograph of Persepolis by Luigi Pesce, showing a doorjamb relief in the Hall of One Hundred Columns in the fall of 1857. Pesce himself is standing at left taking the time exposure (signed L. Pesce at lower right). Albumen print conserved in the Photothèque of the Golestan Palace, Tehran (photograph no. 5 in the Shiraz and Persepolis Album, 7356/335). Photo after Adle in press.



This book contains images of Takht-e Jamshid, the Tomb of the Mother of Solomon known as Mashhad-e Morqāb, Naqsh-e Rostam, and some other monuments. Despite many difficulties, and at my own expense, your servant set out on horseback from Tehran to Shiraz in order to take these pictures, and as God willed it, I was able to accomplish the task. I hope it gives His Majesty fulfillment. In order to see the reliefs and monuments at Takht-e Jamshid, the rulers of the Western countries give huge sums of money to painters to travel to Iran, to draw and carry images of Takht-e Jamshid back to them, because there is not any other monument so astonishing as Takht-e Jamshid in the whole world; and there has yet been nobody from the West to capture the images of the ruins by the procedure of photography. Therefore, it is for the first time that your servant took photographs of the reliefs and ruined edifices of Takht-e Jamshid, and presented them to His Majesty. Hence, I hope to receive His Majesty's gratitude and be rewarded. On the 15th of Ramezan 1274 [A.H.] your servant, Pesce the Italian instructor in the royal in-

fantry, presented the photographic images of Takht-e Jamshid.¹⁶

The king, himself a passionate amateur photographer, was delighted, and there is sufficient ground for believing that Pesce was indeed subsequently rewarded (Adle 1983: 256; in press).¹⁷ In the early 1860s, upon the order of this king who had such a keen interest in the photographic documentation of Persepolis, an Iranian named Aqā Reza learned the art of photography expressly to record the ruins.¹⁸ Notably, Nasser-eddin Shah had already expressed his interest in photography in the service of archaeology by supporting the first Iranian excavation at Khorheh, where the work was documented with photographs (cf. Adle 2000: 231). The archaeological expedition at Khorheh is probably the earliest for which photography was used to record the finds. It thus preceded the use of this technology in archaeology by the Austrians at Samos, in Turkey, in 1860.

The third major excavator of Persepolis was a Persian rather than a European. Prince Mo'tamed al-Dowleh Farhad Mirza (1817–87) (fig. 4) was a son



FIG. 4.
A lithograph showing Prince Farhad Mirza. After Sharaf
(a news journal), no. 7, Rajab 1300/May 1883.

of Abbas Mirza, the celebrated crown prince of Fath-Ali Shah. Farhad Mirza became well acquainted with the ruins of Persepolis when he served as governor of Fars. Legendary for his cruelty in punishing local robbers and bandits (Nāvvāb-Sāfā 1366/1987: 48–75), the prince had an intellectual and antiquarian curiosity about the nearby ruins that was surely enhanced by his interactions with Flandin and Coste, whom he hosted in Shiraz in December 1840.

Based upon that early encounter, Flandin (1851: 224) describes Farhad Mirza as extremely friendly (his reputation as an iron-handed governor notwithstanding) and specifically notes his eagerness to acquire knowledge.¹⁹ In 1876 Farhad Mirza subdued a rebellion in Fars. On that occasion, he sent his sons to carve an inscription in his name on the walls of Persepolis.²⁰ A few years earlier, in 1872, one of his sons, Soltan Oveys Mirza, had produced a series of photographs of the site (Adle in press). These images represent the first systematic attempt to docu-

ment the state of the ruins photographically for scientific purposes. The task was an ambitious one for the time. It reveals the depth of interest felt by the Qajar court in serious exploration of the country and its ancient past. The emergent use of photography did not totally eclipse drawing as a medium for recording Persepolis. In the first decade of the twentieth century Forsat-al Dowleh, known as Forsat Shirazi (1854–1920), traveled extensively in Fars and documented various monuments of the province, including Persepolis (Kasheff 1999). His best-known work, *Āsār-e Ajam*, is a collection of some fifty of his own drawings of these monuments, which was first published in Bombay in 1935 (Forsat-al Dowleh Shirazi 1362/1983). This publication stands as the first methodically illustrated description of the Achaemenid capital.

In 1877 Farhad Mirza sent Mirza Bāqer, his accountant, to hire workers and dig at the ruins of Persepolis with the aim of finding “ancient tools” (*asbab-e atiq*). He himself joined the dig a few days later. The excavation lasted from 14 March to 16 April of that year. Although the prince may have sent a record of his investigations to the court in Tehran, there is no evidence of this. An account of his work was, however, incorporated into *Vaqāye-e Ettefāqīyeh* and has also been reproduced in Navvāb-Sāfā’s biography of Farhad Mirza (1366/1987: 131). From this we learn that the work yielded “sculptures in stone, the location of a lofty edifice, a bridle and an iron plate that bore no figure on it.” The “lofty edifice” here is the building known today as the Hall of One Hundred Columns, or alternatively the Throne Hall (Schmidt 1953: 129). It is a pity that nothing is known now of the whereabouts of the objects revealed by this dig. As with the motivations driving early European excavators at the site, Farhad Mirza had hoped to find bountiful artifacts. It is hence understandable that the brief but intensive excavation (on which some 600 workers may have been employed) was disappointing for him and was thus soon abandoned.²¹

Somewhat cynically, Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez (1892: 287) were later to acknowledge that the clearing operation Farhad Mirza had undertaken with such a massive deployment of labor served an important purpose for later visitors—both treasure-seekers and more serious investigators: “in any case

we may congratulate ourselves that such a whim ever came into his head. To it we owe the fact that recent travellers have found the approaches and the interior of the Hall of a Hundred Columns cleared down to the floor, where Texier and Coste had their progress impeded by earth two or three metres high.”

In October 1877, less than a year after disbanding his own operations at Persepolis, Farhad Mirza gave permission for excavation to the Germans Friedrich Carl Andreas and Friedrich Stolze. But on behalf of the government the prince refused their request to take possession of any items they might discover.²² The Germans did not accept this condition and abandoned the idea of digging at the ruins. Nevertheless, they did take photographs, which they published in two large volumes (Stolze and Andreas 1882). As Sancisi-Weerdenburg points out, however, the results of this project do not live up to the effort and cost expended on it. The quality of the Stolze and Andreas images is no match for the quality of those produced either before or very soon thereafter. Better photographs were, for instance, taken by Marcel Dieulafoy in 1881–82 (Dieulafoy 1885). And the work of Antoin Sevruguin is similarly far more accomplished.²³

In 1892, a publication by the English Lord Curzon attempted a thorough study of the ruins of Persepolis and a comprehensive synthesis of all knowledge of the site acquired to date (1892: 2:148–96). Curzon’s *Persia and the Persian Question* offers an interesting and useful presentation of a long phase of early modern graphic and archaeological exploration. In a sense it marks the end of the prescientific era of archaeology at Persepolis.

In the late nineteenth century a new spirit emerged—one that increasingly recognized other ambitions beyond mere treasure-hunting for museums and collectors. An Englishman named Herbert Weld-Blundel led an expedition to Persepolis that left home in November 1891 “for the purpose of taking moulds of the more prominent sculptures, with a view to their preservation and reproduction.” He arrived in Shiraz in January 1893. His report to the Ninth Congress of Orientalists in London was laced with disdainful criticism of the Persian government for its position in relation to Persepolis. He complained of the difficulties experienced in obtaining a

work permit, describing how he had shrewdly managed to obtain local permission from the current governor of Fars: “By acting on the principle of not asking too close a definition of my powers, I was able, without distinct infringement of the laws of the Medes and Persians, to take a surreptitious peep into the hitherto sealed book” (Weld-Blundel 1893: 538).²⁴ Turning to more substantive matters, Weld-Blundel established the goals of his enterprise in specific opposition to the methods Prince Farhad Mirza had employed earlier in the century while governor of Fars: “not for the purpose of research, but with the idea of something valuable turning up.”

Contrary to most of his predecessors (the Europeans at least as much as the Persians), who were generally in quest of antiquities, Weld-Blundel’s aim at Persepolis was to obtain “data for drawing conclusions and assisting any future efforts in the same direction, supposing at any future time powers for excavating on a large scale might be possible.” He mainly dug at four areas of the Takht: Palace H (the so-called Palace of Artaxerxes III), the Palace of Xerxes, the mounds behind the Palace of Darius and the Palace of Xerxes, and the courtyard to the north of the Palace of Darius. Aside from making squeezes of the reliefs, his principal objective was to learn as much as possible about the architectural organization of the site and its defensive structures (Weld-Blundel 1893: 538). In his opinion the exterior fortifications ran from the Unfinished Tomb to a point facing the northwestern corner of the Takht, as was later proved to be true (Mousavi 1992: 217). Weld-Blundel was the first excavator who paid serious attention to the remains in the plain. His plans and reconstruction sketches, though schematic and conjectural, represent the first documentation of the architectural ensembles of the southern plain. Excavations conducted eighty years later show that some of his reconstructions in this area were reliable (fig. 5).

In addition to these efforts, Weld-Blundel’s observations about traces of paint preserved on the Persepolis sculptures was significant. While uncovering the lower part of the reliefs decorating the entrance of the Hall of One Hundred Columns in order to make squeezes of them, the Italian craftsman working at this task found that the surface was covered with a coating of blue paint, which came away

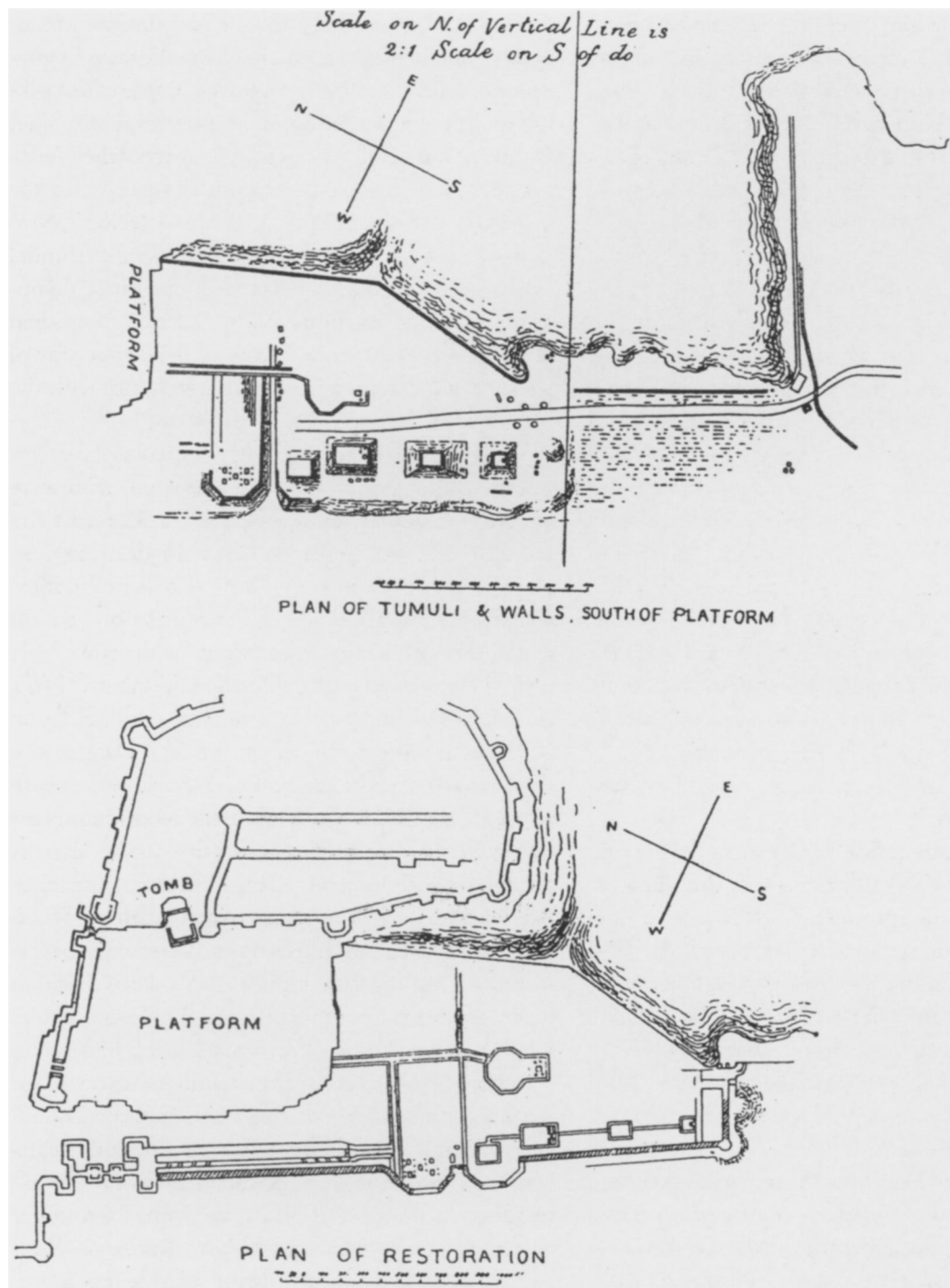


FIG. 5.
Two sketch
maps of
Persepolis
drawn by
Weld-Blundel
in 1892. After
Weld-Blundel
1893.

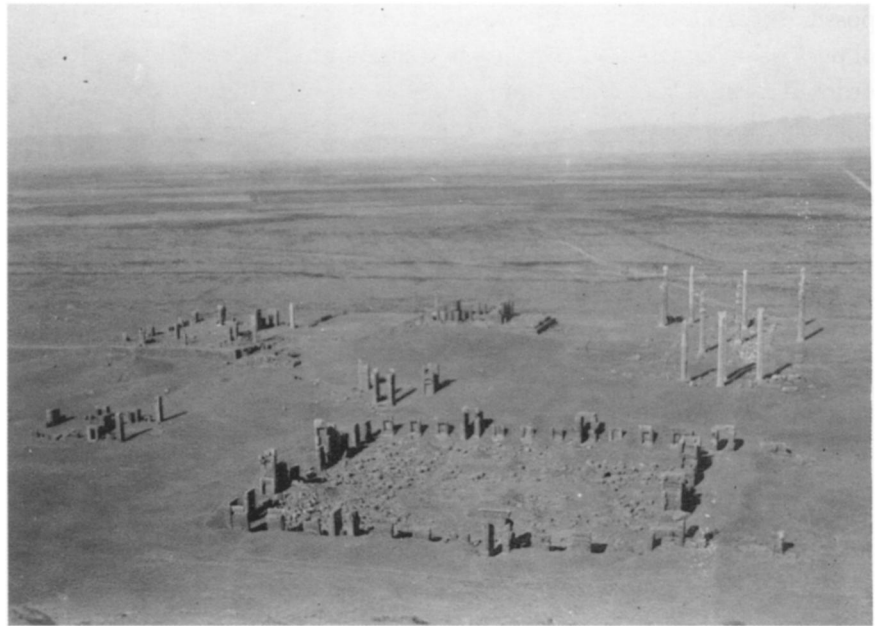
readily to the touch as fine blue powder. Weld-Blundel had this powder examined in London by Flinders Petrie. It was found to be silicate of copper, or "Egyptian blue." Under Weld-Blundel's direction several traces of paint were also found in the Palace of Darius and the so-called Palace of Artaxerxes III. His persistence in gaining chemical evaluation of the

retrieved blue substance was a notable indication of the scientific inclinations that set him apart from earlier investigators and forecast an agenda for future research.²⁵

With the squeezes made during this campaign at Persepolis, Weld-Blundel was able to make plaster molds from which casts could be produced. In

FIG. 6.

View of Persepolis taken by Friedrich Krefter in 1928 while accompanying Ernst Herzfeld on a reconnaissance visit before commencement of their excavations. Photo courtesy of Dr. H. Krefter.



1931 these were exhibited for the first time in the British Museum on the occasion of the Exhibition of Persian Art held in the Royal Academy in London (Simpson 2002: 253).

THE BEGINNING OF CONTROLLED EXCAVATIONS

Two important interrelated events facilitated the beginning of scientifically controlled archaeological excavations at Persepolis. First, the emergence of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925 promoted nationalistic feelings, which created broad-based interest in the site as a national monument. Second, and as a direct result of Pahlavi agendas, the abolition in 1927 of the French Monopoly on all rights to conduct archeological explorations in Iran increased international attention focused on Iran, opening the door to various possibilities and voices both domestic and foreign. The distressed condition of the ruins had already become a significant concern among the Iranian intelligentsia. Their condition also became a point of discussion with other internal groups. Competing European and American interests soon became a major factor in the history of archaeology at Persepolis as well.

In the fall of 1922, Reza Khan (minister of war under the Qajar king Ahmad Shah) had visited

Persepolis on his way to the port of Bushehr. He registered his distress over the poor condition of the ruins. And the impact of that visit remained with him after he became Reza Shah, the first king of the Pahlavi dynasty.²⁶ In 1923/24, Ernst Herzfeld (1880–1948), the eminent German archaeologist who was then living in Iran, made a trip to the site. At that time Herzfeld produced a careful plan and apparently took hundreds of photographs. Then in March 1924, at the request of Firouz Mirza, the Qajar prince who was currently governor of Fars, Herzfeld returned in order to complete a report on the ruins (Herzfeld 1929a). Although Herzfeld himself does not explain how he personally came to be solicited to work at Persepolis, it must be said that he was uniquely qualified among archaeologists in Iran in the early 1920s to take on such a task. While engaged in this reconnaissance at Persepolis, Herzfeld received a number of visits from Firouz Mirza. During one of those visits, Herzfeld spoke to the prince about the possibility of conducting excavations.²⁷ Apparently interested, the prince revealed that negotiations were in progress in Paris to abolish the French Monopoly. Then came the question of funding: “He asked how much it would cost. I said: 15 to 20,000 pounds, and I told him that I might get the Parsis of India interested in that.”²⁸ Later, with the backing of Firouz Mirza, Herzfeld presented a proposal concerning

possible excavations at Persepolis, without any claim of possession on any finds that might ensue. But in order to satisfy any potential donating organization, Herzfeld proposed that permission should be granted also to excavate at Istakhr, the finds from which would be divided between the donor and the Iranian government. This particular proposition, so dependent upon the good auspices of the governor, never came to pass. Firouz Mirza was arrested following a “plot of high officials against him during the insurrections in Fars and Isfahan” (Herzfeld Papers, Herzfeld to Schmidt-Ott, 1 Nov. 1929: 1). This takes us to the brink of the foundation of the Pahlavi dynasty. Once this new order was established, the French Monopoly was soon abolished.

In 1927, Herzfeld was invited to give a series of lectures to the members of the newly founded Anjoman-e Āsār-e Melli (Society for National Heritage) in Tehran. Preceding Herzfeld’s presentation on 18 May, Mohammad-Ali Foroughi, then the minister of foreign affairs and one of the founding members of the Society, gave a short lecture, at the end of which he talked about Persepolis and Herzfeld as follows:

I do not need to speak in detail of Takht-e Jamshid and its pitiful condition, you gentlemen have all heard about or seen it. . . . For its protection from robbery, it is necessary to put a metallic or wooden enclosure with a gate, and to employ guards to control the entrance of the site, and to build a residence for them nearby, etc. . . . But all these require huge expenses, and I do not know when the time would come. It is warm here, and I must not hold you gentlemen anymore with my words. I had better end my talk and give the turn to Professor Herzfeld. (Foroughi 1351/1973: 66–67, my translation from the Persian)

Herzfeld took advantage of the privileged position he occupied in Iran (as shown by the trust placed in him by the Society). He skillfully used his status to emphasize the importance of preserving historical monuments and encouraging the role they played in shaping the identity of a nation. His opposition to the French Monopoly was an important factor in its abolition. The whole quarrel between Herzfeld and

the French Monopoly was, it seems, centered on Persepolis and the possibility of its excavations. Herzfeld had yearned to excavate there since the early 1920s. It was with the prospect of digging at Persepolis in mind that Herzfeld eventually participated so energetically in the drafting of an antiquities law for the Iranian government (Mousavi 1382/2003). Persepolis offered a very promising focus for fundraising. In this regard as well as in intrinsic historical significance it was an outstanding rival to Susa, which had been excavated by the French since the late nineteenth century.

In the spring of 1928, on the heels of the abolition of the French Monopoly, Herzfeld organized an expedition under the auspices of the *Deutschen Wissenschaft* for excavating at Pasargadae with the assistance of Friedrich Krefter, a young German architect.²⁹ In the same year, they spent time together at Persepolis, with Krefter making photographs of the site (fig. 6)—foreshadowing a successful collaboration there a few years later.

Meanwhile, Herzfeld’s expedition to Pasargadae was the first fieldwork undertaken in Iran after the abolition of the Monopoly. In fact it was to be the only excavation in Iran carried out in the absence of a law for the protection of antiquities (Mousavi 1382/2003: 36). This shows the esteem in which Herzfeld was held at the time among the Iranian leadership—although his relations with many Westerners working in Iran were very strained. But Pasargadae was one thing; Persepolis was another. In the absence of any concrete legislation to protect Iranian interests, there was now no way excavations at Persepolis would be allowed to proceed. Herzfeld’s first task was, thus, to convince the Pahlavi government to approve a law regulating excavation procedure in general and then to apply such a law to the site of Persepolis. It was Herzfeld who drafted the first excavation law, called *Loi sur les Fouilles*, presented to the court minister on 10 October 1929.³⁰

The development of archaeology in Iran took a decisive turn when the Act for the Antiquities of Iran (the Antiquities Law), prepared ultimately under the supervision of the French architect André Godard as well as Herzfeld, was finally approved on 3 November 1930. Just after the passage of the Law, Herzfeld (in Tehran, where he was serving as the

archaeological advisor to the government) sent a telegram to James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, urging American action. Breasted replied to Herzfeld at once. Subsequently, Herzfeld asked permission to dig at Persepolis. This extraordinary concession was awarded to him by the unanimous vote of the Persian parliament on 16 December 1930. It was the first excavation permit under the Antiquities Law.

The cost of excavating at Persepolis was sure to be very high, and no European country seemed to be able to raise the necessary funds for such a task. Herzfeld nevertheless repeatedly tried to interest German institutions, especially the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*, in the prospect. As he wrote to Schmitt-Ott:

In the past few weeks especially, I have pushed the case of Persepolis more energetically because Mr. Pope has begun to meddle in it. I have not yet figured him out. One thing is for sure: he is not a person of real influence, yet he is trying with great effort to establish himself as a kind of scholarly broker between all American missions and Persia. (Herzfeld Papers, Herzfeld to Schmitt-Ott, 1 Nov. 1929: 5, my translation)

Apparently, Arthur Upham Pope (an art historian/dealer of Iranian antiquities who harbored a strong enmity toward Herzfeld) was spreading the word about the imminent excavations at Persepolis with the intention of getting other countries interested in the project and consequently undercutting Herzfeld's control.³¹ The beginning of American participation in Iranian archaeology thus suffered from a rivalry between the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and Chicago's Oriental Institute. At this point, Herzfeld thought it was time to get in touch with the Americans. Perhaps Herzfeld had a premonition that the United States was headed for an economic crisis. At all events, adroit as he was, he began by asking the University Museum if they could provide him with an address for James H. Breasted. He was thereby making an initial approach to the University Museum while simultaneously signaling to them that he was prepared to look elsewhere for support for the project. Breasted and Herzfeld

had known each other from the time of Breasted's studies in Berlin in the early 1920s. In 1928 they met again in Bonn and in Oxford. During these encounters Herzfeld broached the subject of his desire to excavate at Persepolis.

As a result of Herzfeld's fundraising strategy, Horace Jayne, director of the University Museum, cabled Herzfeld offering him the opportunity to direct an expedition to Persepolis supported by his institution for a minimum of four years with an annual budget of \$20,000. At the same time, Jayne (perhaps not realizing the intensity of rivalries between various foreign scholars operating in Iran at the time) asked Pope to "take any further steps to clinch arrangements." In response to Jayne's request, Pope sent a telegram to Herzfeld encouraging him to discuss with him "in full detail" the University Museum's proposal. It soon became apparent, however, that Pope was trying to challenge Herzfeld rather than assist him in his negotiations with Pennsylvania. Jayne immediately asked Pope to suspend his interference. Herzfeld's original intention of contacting Breasted continued to worry the University Museum. And in the end, after all this negotiation and intrigue, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago won the day.

In 1931, Herzfeld was finally able to begin excavating at Persepolis, sponsored by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, with the financial support of Ada Small Moore (1859–1955). Mrs. Moore was a wealthy benefactress interested in archaeological activities in Iran (fig. 7), whom Robert Byron, an English writer/traveler with a caustic wit, described as "a matriarch in shawl, more than seventy years old and worth as many millions" (1934: 15). It was thus that a large-scale project of controlled excavation at Persepolis was launched.³²

Recent research on unpublished documents and antiquities papers both in the United States and Iran indicate that the Persian government had not actually granted permission to Herzfeld and the Oriental Institute for an excavation *per se* (Mousavi 1382/2003; forthcoming). What *was* granted was a "clearance permission" for promoting restoration and preservation of the ruins. It seems that originally excavation of the site was not seen as an end in itself. Herzfeld's first published report (Herzfeld 1929a)



FIG. 7.
Mrs. Ada Small Moore standing before the staircase of the Apadana at Persepolis. From Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi's album of Persepolis dated November 1933. Photo courtesy of the Iran Bastan Museum.

is, in fact, a proposal for the *preservation* of the monuments at Persepolis. In an official letter to the Iranian ambassador in Paris, Teymourtash (the court minister) clearly indicated that “no excavation permit was given to foreign institutions” and that the Oriental Institute, through Herzfeld, “offered a proposal merely for the preservation of historical monuments at Persepolis, which was then approved by the government that released an authorization; the permit had nothing to do with an excavation process.”³³ Moreover, the government

was reluctant to authorize a foreign institution actually to dig at such an important and symbolic site.

It is not clear how the initial work of preservation and restoration was subsequently transformed into a real archaeological excavation (for more details, see Mousavi 1382/2003; forthcoming). In his first and only comprehensive report, Herzfeld (1929a: 37–38) estimated the amount and length of the work at Persepolis and in so doing gave some sense of what he envisioned as the character of the enterprise:

Le travail à exécuter est approximativement pour la terrasse entière, le mouvement de 210 000 m cubiques de terre. Ce travail peut être exécuté à l'aide d'un petit chemin de fer Décoville [*sic*] sans que les haldes de décombres déforment l'aspect et gâtent l'impression incomparable de la terrasse. Avec un Décoville de 12 chars et avec 240 ouvriers on est à même d'accomplir ce travail en 300 journées de travail à 10 heures. Les frais n'en surpasseraient pas 30 000 tomans. Les travaux nécessaires pour mouvoir les grandes pierres demandaient approximativement la moitié de cette somme et de ce temps, et les travaux pour construire le système de drainage et pour couvrir les pierres d'une couche protectrice de ciment, requérions encore une fois la même somme et le même temps. Ainsi au cours de deux années j'estime qu'on pourrait accomplir tous les travaux nécessaires.

He subsequently revised his cost estimate upward to a total of 100,000 tomans (approximately £6,500) and stated in a letter to the court minister in Tehran that he was convinced he would be able to raise the necessary funds if the Persian government would support the project (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*: letter dated 23 January 1931). The security of the site was an obstacle to the beginning of excavations. (The region was often the scene of conflicts between the tribes of Fars and governmental forces; these rebellions were eventually subdued in the early years of Reza Shah's reign.) In the winter of 1929, a police headquarters was established at Persepolis. This eventually provided the security necessary for the start of work (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*: letter of 13 Dey 1307/3 January 1929).

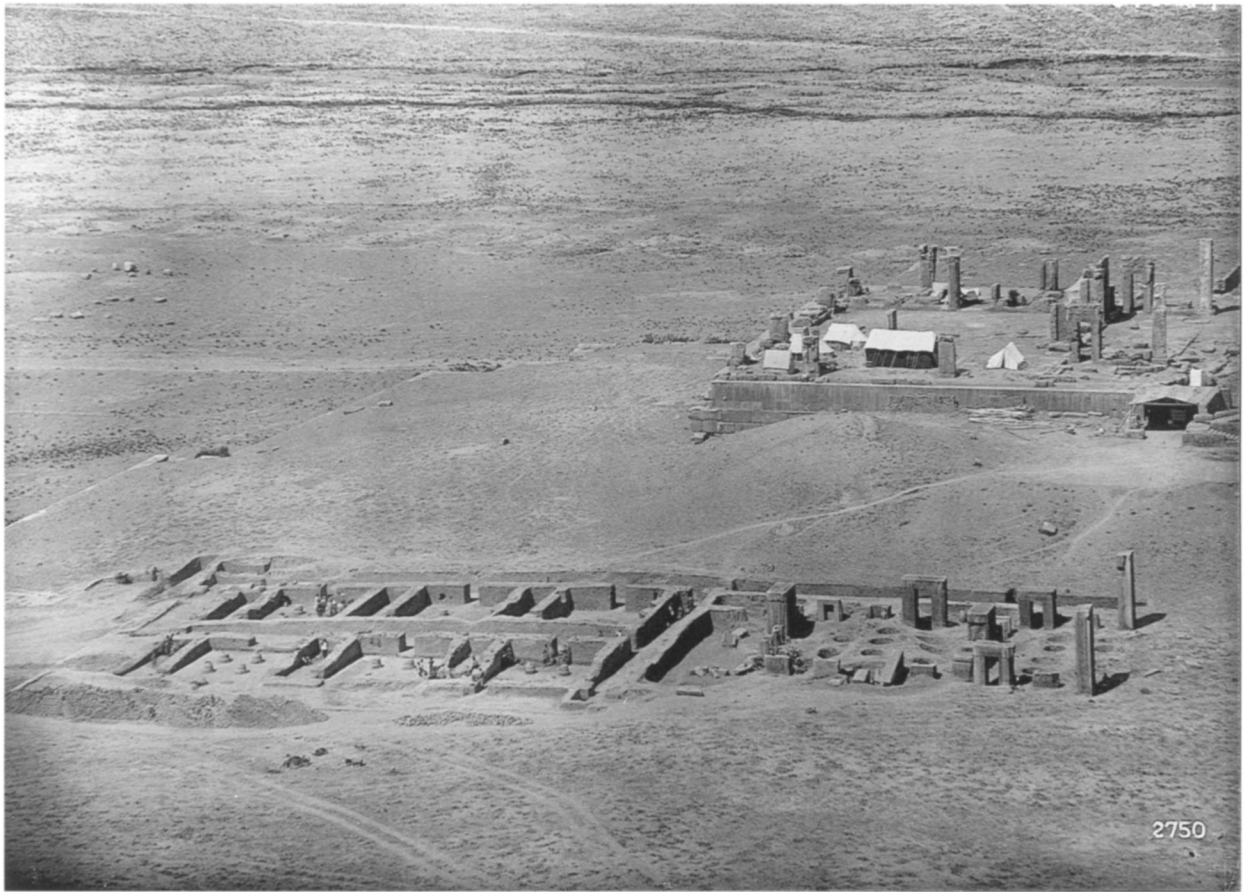


FIG. 8.

The so-called Harem of Xerxes before reconstruction, in the foreground, and the tents of the Oriental Institute team set up in the main hall of the Palace of Xerxes (the Hadish) in the background. Photo courtesy of the Archives of the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (Ernst Herzfeld Archive).

The Persepolis expedition seems to have been intended by Herzfeld to pursue a triple aim:

- (1) examination by excavation of the principal palatial complexes of the terrace;
- (2) reconstruction of one of the palaces for housing the expedition;
- (3) preservation of buildings and sculptures of the terrace, to “be effected by reopening the ancient subterranean drainage system, and protection against damage by rain, frost, and man” (Herzfeld 1933: 406–7).

ferent agendas. “Preservation” came to be synonymous with physically protecting the Takht by employing guards to control access to the site. But most of the excavated remains in mudbrick received very little conservation treatment. The vast area of the Takht, so long exposed to natural and human destruction, has remained a major issue in archaeological preservation—one certainly not dealt with in any systematic way during the Chicago expedition.

Herzfeld’s staff was composed of Germans: Friedrich Krefter (the architect who had accompanied him to Pasargadae and Persepolis in 1928), Karl Bergner as a second architect and draftsman, Alexander Langsdorff and Donald MacCown as field assistants, and W. von Busse as photographer. Initially,



FIG. 9.
The so-called Harem of Xerxes photographed by Friedrich Krefter in 1931 during the construction of a roof over the northern portico. Photo courtesy of Dr. H. Krefter.

Herzfeld had intended to reconstruct the Palace of Darius to serve as the expedition house (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*: letter to the court minister dated 23 January 1931). On the advice of Krefter, this idea was soon abandoned. As Krefter rightly wrote, the building known as the Harem was larger, and its northern portico was in a good state of preservation (figs. 8–9). The northern hall could easily be configured as a museum, while the smaller rooms located in the southern part of the building offered the necessary space to house the expedition staff and equipment. Besides, by virtue of its peripheral location, the Harem could be easily reached from the southeastern corner of the terrace; such an access would have been impossible for the Palace of Darius. A major challenge in modifying any structure on the Takht to serve modern needs was the importance of not disrupting the aesthetics of the site as a whole. The Harem was well suited to meeting this need, since its location on a low level compared to the other buildings on the Takht would make it less obtrusive in altered form (Krefter 1979: 20–22). The first season of work was thus spent in excavating the main part of the Harem and in its partial reconstruction. This task, undertaken by Krefter, was completed by the end of 1932. Byron, who visited Persepolis a year later, described it as “a palace, reconstructed of wood on the

site, and in the style of its Achaemenian predecessor, whose stone door and window frames are incorporated in it, . . . the outcome is a luxurious cross between the King David Hotel in Jerusalem and the Pergamum Museum in Berlin” (Byron 1937: 184).

In 1932, Herzfeld excavated the major portion of the Gate of All Lands and the system of subterranean canals. In addition, the outline of Palace G was defined, and part of the western wing of the Harem and the southern stairway of the Central Building were uncovered.³⁴ The most remarkable task of the 1932 season was the excavation of the large avenue to the north of the Central Building, between the Hall of One Hundred Columns and the Apadana. This work resulted in the important discovery of the sculptured stairways of both the northern façade of the Central Building and the eastern façade of the Apadana.³⁵ In the same season, Herzfeld’s team discovered the post-Achaemenid building of Frata-dara, 200 m to the west-northwest of the terrace, revealing reused structural material from the Takht as well as doorjamb sculptures carved in emulation of the earlier Achaemenid forms visible at Persepolis. A stone platform called Takht-e Rustam, situated halfway between Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam, was also investigated. Finally, the vast site of Istakhr was tested.³⁶

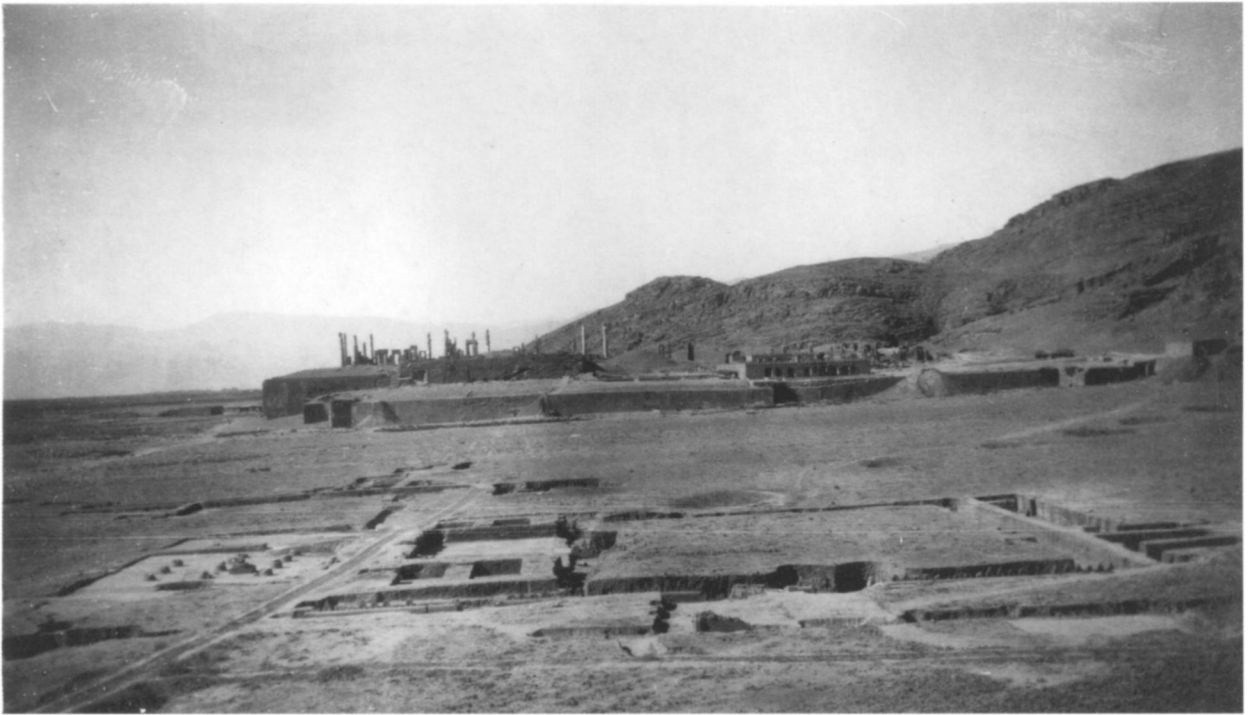


FIG. 10.

View of one of the palatial ensembles uncovered by Herzfeld in the southern plain, from Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi's album of Persepolis dated November 1933. Photo courtesy of the Iran Bastan Museum.

In 1933, the courtyard between the Hall of One Hundred Columns and the Apadana was cleared. Small trenches resulted in the discovery of the heads of the bulls flanking the entrance of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; at the east of this building, the excavators found a stairway leading to the subterranean canal system. While leveling debris for construction of a roadway for the removal of excavation debris, Herzfeld discovered an archive of some 30,000 inscribed and sealed clay tablets and sealed clay labels in rooms of the northeastern fortifications (the Persepolis Fortification tablets). The discovery has emerged as one of extraordinary significance. The documents record food disbursements relating to work and travel in Persepolis; they contain vast information on the site and on the nature of the economy and life in the empire. Bearing dates between 509 and 494 B.C.E., the texts inform issues of chronology at the site as well as these myriad other social matters. The seals applied to the documents are equally significant.³⁷

Although Herzfeld was primarily interested in

the structures on the Takht, he did conduct soundings in the southern plain and discovered a palatial ensemble there (fig. 10). Like his discovery of the Fortification tablets, his work in the plain laid the basis for important efforts later in the history of excavation and interpretation of the ancient city.

The soundings at Istakhr were abandoned in the winter of 1932/33. Attention was directed instead to Naqsh-e Rostam, where Herzfeld traced the outer enclosure of the site and copied the inscription on the Tomb of Darius I. Meanwhile, on the Takht itself in that same year, Krefter's architectural training and sharp sense of terrain led him to one of the most dramatic archaeological discoveries ever made in Iran. M.-T. Mostafavi, who was present on the site, wrote the firsthand description of the discovery of the foundation tablets of the Apadana (figs. 11–12):

In September of that year, when Professor Herzfeld was on vacation in Germany, and the excavations at Persepolis had been frozen because of financial difficulties, there were a few



FIG. 11.

View of the excavation at the northeastern corner of the main hall of the Apadana, where the first pair of the Apadana Foundation Tablets was found in September 1933. Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi is sitting outside at the left corner of the trench, looking directly at the camera; the two Arab excavation foremen Herzfeld had brought from Samarra are standing in front of him inside the trench, while Friedrich Krefter is visible inside the trench at the far right (wearing the German hat). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



FIG. 12

View of the excavation at the southeastern corner of the main hall of the Apadana, where the second pair of the Apadana Foundation Tablets was found in September 1933. Friedrich Krefter is shown at left holding the gold tablet, with the stone box that contained the precious tablets visible at his feet. One of Herzfeld's Arab foremen is kneeling at the right corner of the trench. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Arab foremen from Samarra employed full time by the expedition, which had to pay them whether or not there was work to do. Professor Krefter, the engineer and architect of the expedition at Persepolis, who was generally in charge of executive tasks, took advantage of such an opportunity to find out what had been intriguing him for a long time. Professor Krefter had already noticed that in the northwestern angle of the central hall of the Apadana, there was a small square hole of about half a meter with a depth of 15 cm. . . . Contemplating various hypotheses, he thought that it might have contained some inscribed documents. On 18 September 1933, in order to test that hypothesis, he made careful observations of the opposite spot at the north-eastern angle of the main hall of the Apadana, where an elevation of about one meter above floor level could be seen. . . . On the same day and on the order of Professor Krefter, the above-mentioned foremen began to dig a 1.5 m trench at that spot. Since they were very skillful, they soon realized that what they were digging was a mud-brick wall, which should not be destroyed. So they stopped the work and went back to Professor Krefter, informing him that the spot he had ordered dug was a wall, the mud bricks of which would be destroyed in the course of excavation. Professor Krefter told them: "I am glad it is mud brick! This shows that the lower part of the original wall of the main hall is still in place there. Continue to dig, and if during the excavation, you come across something, leave it in place and call me." The foremen did as Professor Krefter told them, and two hours later, at a depth of 70/80 cm, they found a stone slab approximately 55 × 55 × 40 cm, which had been placed within the mud bricks. They called Professor Krefter, who, after having examined and photographed the slab, had it removed. Under the slab, there was a beautiful square stone box of 45 × 45 × 15 cm, which had been partly broken under the pressure of the slab. So they were able to remove easily the fragmentary stone lid of the box (35.5 × 35.5 × 4 cm). At that moment, in a space (33 × 33 × 1.5 cm) inside the box, there were a gold and a silver tablet. . . . The silver tablet had been

placed on the gold tablet face to face so that the inscriptions did not touch the rough surface of the box. (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 70–76, my translation from the Persian)

Two days later, Krefter probed the southeastern corner of the main hall of the Apadana and found another similar box containing a gold and a silver tablet bearing inscriptions of Darius I (DPh—Lecoq 1997: 230, 218, 125). According to the Antiquities Law of Iran, a pair of these tablets would have been given to the Oriental Institute, but as the news of such an outstanding discovery soon reached Tehran, Reza Shah, saying that "he did not want to see again what had happened to the objects from Susa," ordered that both pairs be kept and brought to the capital (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 80). Robert Byron met Krefter in Tehran a few weeks after the discovery:

At the English club we found Krefter, Herzfeld's assistant at Persepolis, deep in conversation with Wadsworth, the American First Secretary. Their secret, which both were too excited to contain, was that in Herzfeld's absence abroad, Krefter had dug up a number of gold and silver plaques which record the foundation of Persepolis by Darius. He calculated their positions by abstract mathematics; and there they lay, in stone boxes, when the holes were dug. Rather unwillingly he showed us photographs of them; archaeological jealousy and suspicion glanced from his eyes. Herzfeld, it seems, has turned Persepolis into his private domain, and forbids anyone to photograph there. (Byron 1937: 44)

After the discovery of the Apadana foundation tablets at Persepolis, Roland De Mecquenem, then director of the French Mission at Susa, remembered that fragments of probably similar boxes in stone had hitherto been discovered at Susa, but the excavators had not been able to discern what type of object the fragments might represent. It thus seems likely that similar foundation tablets of precious metal may also have been deposited at Susa (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 89).

In October of that year, Reza Shah officially visited Persepolis (fig. 13). Herzfeld and Godard were



FIG. 13.

Herzfeld with members of his team and guests at the time of the visit of Reza Shah, shown in the northern portico of the so-called Harem on 18

October 1933. Left to right: Alexander Langsdorff and his wife, Joseph Upton, Lotte Bradford (Herzfeld's sister) and her son Charles, Ernst Herzfeld, Friedrich Krefter, Hans Kühler (technician of the expedition), Mohammad-Taqi Mostafavi, and André Godard. Photo courtesy of the Iran Bastan Museum.

present to welcome the king, and Herzfeld guided a comprehensive tour of the monuments and his recent discoveries. At the same time, Breasted, on behalf of the Oriental Institute, sent a telegram welcoming Reza Shah to Persepolis. The king stayed for lunch and was so pleased with his visit that at the end he said to Herzfeld: "You are doing a work of civilization here, and I thank you."³⁸

Herzfeld's fourth campaign of 1934 was his last. The expedition continued to excavate different parts of the Takht and replaced fallen architectural fragments in their original positions. Restoration work was also carried out at different spots on the terrace, and the new-found reliefs of the eastern staircase of the Apadana were very wisely protected by means of a screen made of reed. Work on the subterranean canal continued, but it did not provide satisfactory results. Other Achaemenid remains were found in the northern sector of the terrace around a reused Persepolitan stone doorway. Herzfeld also excavated a large Achaemenid building in the plain below the terrace.

In the winter of that year, the seemingly ubiquitous Byron visited Persepolis. His impression of the ruins and his tense meeting with Herzfeld were amusingly noted in his *Road to Oxiana* (Byron 1937).

Byron did not like Achaemenid art, and he was affronted by Herzfeld's prohibition against photography on the Takht. Byron's comments are important because they reveal how much Herzfeld, supported by a "code of academic malice controlled from Chicago," wanted to keep the discoveries secret (Byron 1937: 184–88). It is true that Herzfeld had the right to authorize or refuse photography of the finds, but he apparently thought the information obtained from his excavations was his own scientific property. He never published the results of his work at Persepolis. In November 1934, the crown prince of Sweden, Gustav VI Adolf, visited the ruins in the company of his wife, Princess Louise, and his son, Prince Bertil. The visit was a memorable one for both Herzfeld and the crown prince (fig. 14). On this occasion, Herzfeld offered two sculptured fragments to the crown prince in the presence of Iranian officials.³⁹ Later, in the face of mounting problems with the Oriental Institute in Chicago, Herzfeld had to resign his directorship of the expedition.⁴⁰ Leadership of the Oriental Institute expedition was temporarily given to Krefter, who remained in charge until Erich Schmidt's arrival in 1935.

Schmidt's work in Iran has been summarized in an article by Jack Balcer that is based on the records



FIG. 14.

The crown prince of Sweden (at far left) and Herzfeld (posed before a fallen bull protome capital) at Persepolis on 19 November 1934. Photo courtesy of the Bernadotte Library, the Royal Collections, Stockholm.

held in the Oriental Institute. A few details on his work at Persepolis can be added. Schmidt (1897–1964) came from a background very different from that of Herzfeld, who became acquainted with Iran at the very outset of his professional career. Schmidt spent part of his youth fighting in Europe during the Great War, then in captivity in Siberia as a prisoner of war. After his escape from Siberia, he made his debut in archaeology by studying first in Berlin and then in New York (Columbia University) with Franz Boas. He came to Iran late, in the early 1930s.⁴¹ While Herzfeld had to fight almost single-handedly to get the Persepolis excavations up and running, Schmidt was able to step into an organized and fully operational endeavor. He was assisted by a larger team of specialists. Although Krefter left Iran in 1935, two new architects, John S. Bolles and Eliot F. Noyes, replaced him. Karl Bergner, Herzfeld's architectural

draftsman, and Donald McCown stayed to work with Schmidt. One of the best-qualified members of the mission was undoubtedly the photographer Boris Dubensky, an Iranian of Russian origin who had worked with Schmidt at Rey and replaced Von Busse at Persepolis. Dubensky had a very intimate knowledge of structures at the site. The architectural elements at Persepolis receive the light at different times of the day. Dubensky knew exactly what was the best moment to photograph specific places (Ali Sāmi, pers. com.). It was Dubensky who prepared many of the final photographs eventually illustrating the Persepolis volumes (Schmidt 1953; 1957; 1970). His withdrawal from the expedition was a loss for Schmidt, who replaced him with Ursula Schneider in 1938.

Schmidt began to work at Persepolis by excavating the southeast sector of the terrace, where his team found the impressive architectural remains of the garrison (Schmidt 1939: 7–15; 1953). The discovery there of seven inscribed slabs of an inscription of Xerxes (XPh) has provided a series of controversial interpretations on the religious policy of this Achaemenid ruler.⁴² The remains of the fortifications at the base of Kuh-e Rahmat led to a thorough study of the defense system of the site. During the same season, the excavators cleared a cistern, which had been cut into the rocky slope of the mountain to a depth of about 24 m, without reaching its floor (Schmidt 1939: 88–90). In the spring of 1936, the excavation of the Treasury began (fig. 15), which resulted on 30 March in the discovery of the so-called audience reliefs attributed to Darius the Great (fig. 16). These two reliefs were found set into the rear walls of the eastern and southern porticos of an open courtyard measuring 13 × 15.5 m, in the eastern part of the Treasury. The height of the reliefs is 2.60 m, while their length varies from 6.275 m to 6.225 m. The better preserved of the sculptures (the southern one) was removed to the Iran Bastan Museum. Schmidt tried in vain to obtain the eastern one for his patron institution in the United States (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*, letter to Ali-Asqar Hekmat, minister of public instruction, dated 5 April 1937). But it remains to this day in situ at Persepolis. During the 1960s, the meticulous observations and studies of Giuseppe and Ann Britt Tilia showed that these reliefs had been removed from the main staircases of the Apadana.⁴³

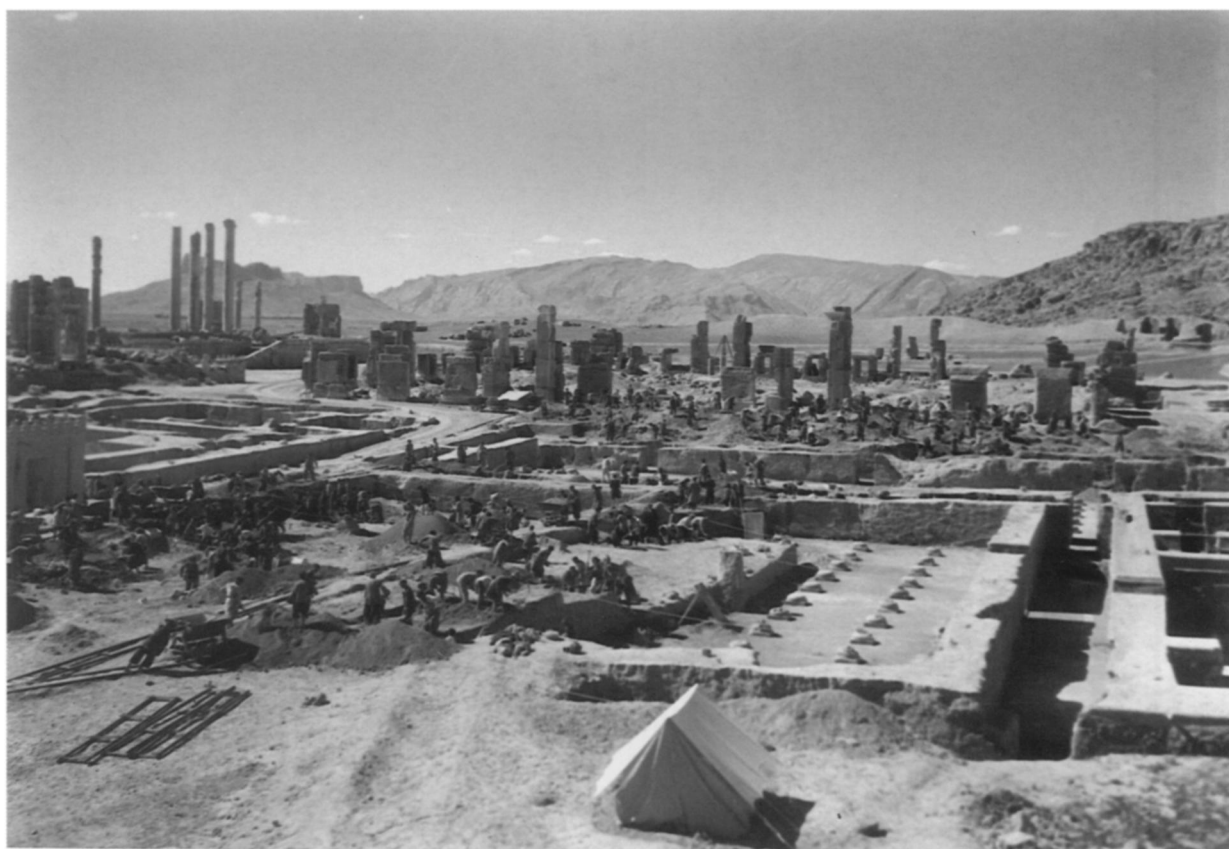


FIG. 15.
Work crews excavating the Treasury in 1937. Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



FIG. 16.
The damaged relief preserving the king in audience, seen as it was discovered set into the rear wall of the eastern portico of the Treasury courtyard, where it remains in situ (but now reassembled). Photo courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The date of the removal of the orthostats, as well as the political circumstances and implications of this major event in the history of the Takht, have been much discussed and remain controversial (e.g., Tilia 1972: 207–8, also recording views of R. N. Frye; Shahbazi 1976). What is clear is that the meanings and functions of the ceremonial installations on the Takht did evolve over time during the Achaemenid period. They were not static representations of the original vision of Darius I.

Still in the Treasury complex Schmidt found the hundreds of clay tablets and sealed labels now known as Persepolis Treasury tablets (Schmidt 1957; Cameron 1948; Garrison and Root 2001: esp. 33–34). While much smaller and more limited in scope than the Fortification archive discovered by Herzfeld, the Treasury corpus (dating between 492 and 459 B.C.E.) also offers major opportunities for ongoing research on the social and economic history of the Achaemenid court and empire.

In the fall of 1936, Schmidt decided to dig trenches in the interior of the Hall of One Hundred Columns, where Farhad Mirza had left heaps of dirt from his excavation there in 1877. The season of 1937 involved a great deal of activity, mostly concentrated here and on the continuing excavation of the Treasury. It was in the beginning of this season that Reza Shah and his crown prince, Mohammad-Reza, visited Persepolis. On that occasion, the king authorized Schmidt to resume his aerial explorations in Iran. But this significant venture was allowed to continue for only three months before being stopped forever, despite Schmidt's repeated requests for their resumption.

The work of the 1938 season consisted of completing the excavation of the Treasury. During the last excavation season, in 1939, focus turned to southern sections of the Takht. Part of the southern area of the Apadana was excavated. And in the southwest corner of the Takht the uncovering of the western wing of the Harem was completed. As an effort in historical preservation, the sections of the mudbrick walls of the Treasury were lowered to a uniform "preservable height" (Schmidt 1957: 5). In retrospect the initiation of this practice (albeit motivated by an interest in preservation) seems unfortunate. The uniform wall-leveling of this building was continued by the Iranian teams after the departure of the Oriental Institute. As a result, it is



FIG. 17.
Erich Schmidt posed with Persepolis I (1953), probably in the early 1960s on the occasion of a press interview. Photo courtesy of Mrs. Lura Schmidt-Janda and the late Walther Hinz.

difficult today for visitors to the remains of the Treasury to gain a good sense of the dimensions and impressiveness of this vast, complex structure.

Schmidt left Iran in December 1939. His directorship of the excavations at Persepolis coincided with a period of increasing tension among European powers in Iran. Contrary to Herzfeld, who took considerable advantage of the nationalistic significance of the site to build support for his work, Schmidt's increasing tendency to concentrate more on the scientific aspects of the excavations may have led to governmental dissatisfaction with his efforts given the political realities in Iran at that time. The excavations of the Oriental Institute made two remarkable contributions: they stimulated a broad spectrum of archaeological activities in the region, and they provided indispensable knowledge of the site through three luxurious volumes as well as, ultimately, additional documentary and interpretive studies based on the discoveries of those years. The first volume

(Schmidt 1953) on the structures and sculptural decorations on the Takht was offered in 1959 to Queen Elizabeth of England on the occasion of her visit to the campus of the University of Chicago. It was cited as the publication *par excellence* of the university (Haines 1965: 147) (fig. 17).

POSTWAR EXCAVATIONS

After the departure of the American expedition in 1939, the Iranian government took over excavating and restoring the site. With the outbreak of World War II, and in the absence of any foreign archaeological mission in Iran, the newly hired members of the General Office of Archaeology moved into higher ranks. Consequently, Hossein Ravānbôd took charge of restoration work at Persepolis for four months. From January 1939 to June 1940, Dr. Isā Behnām replaced Ravānbôd. Behnām, an archaeologist, studied later in France and became chair of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Tehran. From the end of 1940 to September 1941, Mahmoud Rād took over direction of the site. It was at this time that the mudbrick walls of the Treasury, which had remained partly intact to a height of 2 m since the time of their discovery, were lowered to a height of 30 cm; the mudbrick walls of the northern court of the Harem were also lowered. No excavation was carried out at the site. During this period, André Godard, as director of the General Office of Archaeology of Iran (GOA), had overarching authority over the work at Persepolis.⁴⁴ The name General Office of Archaeology is deliberately used here (rendering the Persian title of the organization, *Edārey-e Koll-e Bāstānshenāsi*). The usual Anglicization (as Archaeological Service) is misleading in its specificity. The truth is that after its creation in 1910 as the *Edārey-e Atiqāt*, or Antiquities Office (reorganized fundamentally in 1930), the Iranian General Office of Archaeology undertook multiple tasks of excavation, preservation, and restoration of archaeological sites all over the country for more than forty years before breaking up into several interacting offices within the Ministry of Culture and Arts.⁴⁵

After the war, Godard opened a special account for Persepolis in the Central Bank of Iran. The post-



FIG. 18.

Ali Hākemi (left) and Ali Sāmi in front of the reconstructed Harem of Xerxes, spring 1950. Photo courtesy of Ali Hākemi.

war years were fraught with financial difficulty for the GOA, but Godard eventually managed to find an Iranian sponsor living in France. Mr. H. G. Tufenkdjian directed the Calous Gulbenkian Foundation in Paris. In October 1946, Tufenkdjian paid £1,000 for the maintenance of the restoration work at Persepolis. Another £1,000 was paid in January 1947 (*Bāyeganiy-e Rāked*, Godard's correspondence with Essayan: October 1946).

From 1941 on, Ali Sāmi (1910–89) took charge of excavations and restoration at Persepolis. Sāmi was without doubt one of the major figures of Iranian archaeology (fig. 18). He began his career as a teacher in 1936 and then took part in the restoration and construction of some of the historical monuments in Shiraz. Meanwhile, he made the acquaintance of Erich Schmidt, who frequently came to Shiraz for administrative matters and to procure provisions while he was digging at Persepolis. After the departure of

the Oriental Institute expedition, Sāmi started his work at Persepolis, first as an accountant for the engineer H. Ravānbôd. Gradually developing an interest in excavation, he became an energetic archaeologist under Godard's supervision. Sāmi was later appointed director of the Scientific Bureau at Persepolis (Bongāh-e Elmiy-e Takht-e Jamshid). During the twenty years of his tenure at Persepolis (1941–61) he excavated various parts of the site and explored other sites of the region, notably Pasargadae. This period coincides with an increasing number of official visits. Obviously, Sāmi's successful efforts to prepare and highlight the site were extremely important in the eyes of the government. After his retirement in 1962, Sāmi devoted himself to teaching ancient Iranian civilizations at the Pahlavi University of Shiraz until the late 1970s.⁴⁶ His reports, published in two thick volumes of *Gozāreshhāy-e Bāstānshenāsi* (*Archaeological Reports*) in 1951 and 1961, are organized in chronological order, summarizing annual work at Persepolis. He gives quite a concise description of the objects and their context. Nevertheless, his main concern was the publication of those finds that seemed significant to him. Thus, the whole scheme of excavation and its progress is not presented in his reports.⁴⁷ His principal architect, who drew topographic maps and building plans, was Ali Hākemi, who went on to a brilliant career in Iranian archaeology.⁴⁸

The excavation of the northern part of the terrace was the main objective of Godard and Sāmi, who were interested in probing structures adjacent to the Hall of One Hundred Columns and its principal means of access. Godard, who was bothered by Schmidt's somewhat dismissive characterization of these structures as "courtyards," wrote:

Besogne ingrate, mais il nous semblait que les grands édifices étant connus, l'importance était désormais de savoir comment s'accrochait, au reste du plan, le vestibule monumental situé en haut de l'escalier principal et ce qu'était au juste cet autre édifice qu'on appelle 'la Porte inachevée'. Nous pensions aussi que cette cour ou ces cours d'honneur devaient être bordées de bâtiments d'apparat et d'habitation. Et puis, il fallait bien que la surface entière de la terrasse fût dégagée. (Godard 1946: 265)

Work at the site was uninterrupted in spite of the war and financial difficulty. The plan of the subterranean drainage system was finally completed. Godard (1946: 265) explained the aim of working on the canal system:

Nous chercherons aussi les réservoirs où devait aboutir l'extraordinaire système de canalisations dont les ramifications, taillées dans le roc, s'étaient sous la terrasse tout entière. Herzfeld et son adjoint, F. Krefter, les ont cherché déjà et ont déblayé, sans les trouver, plusieurs centaines de mètres de tunnels, qui mesuraient 1 m 15 environs de largeur et une hauteur de 1 m 75 à 2 m 10. Ils attachaient une grande importance historique à ce vaste drainage, dans lequel Herzfeld voyait la preuve que le plan général des bâtiments de la terrasse avaient été établi dès le début des travaux, sous le règne de Darius Ier.

In addition to this historical significance, a full understanding of the subterranean canal system seemed likely to enable the excavator to reestablish the ancient evacuation system of the site so as to avoid the deterioration of the structures by the waters flowing down from the mountain. Sāmi also conducted a series of restorations of the stairways of the Apadana and the Central Building, as well as the mudbrick walls of the Treasury. Given the many archaeological, restoration, and conservation activities at Persepolis from 1939 to 1961, the following summary has been collected from Sāmi's various reports:

1939–42: removal of the dumps that had remained from the Oriental Institute excavations and shortening the mudbrick walls in front of the Harem; excavation of the southern area of the Apadana; discovery of an embossed gold sheet weighing 289 g (February 1940), which may have been used to cover the wooden doors of the central hall of the palace; work on the Gate of All Lands.

1942–43: excavation of the unexplored spots between the Apadana and the Hall of One Hundred Columns; discovery of the discarded lion-creature protome capital in the eastern portico of the Apadana (fig. 19) (Sāmi 1330/1952: 186); two silver *phialae*



FIG. 19.
The lion-creature protome capital found in the northern courtyard outside the Apadana. Photo courtesy of A. Hākemi.

(weighing 470 g and 394 g respectively) found “outside the northern wall of Takht-e Jamshid” (by which he seems to mean in the debris of the northern fortification); discovery of mudbrick rooms to the east of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; uncovering of the northern avenue linking the Gate of All Lands to the Unfinished Gate north of the Hall of One Hundred Columns.

1943–44: excavations of the northern court of the Hall of One Hundred Columns.

1944–47: uncovering of a thirty-two-columned hall north of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; one of the most fascinating finds was the small lapis lazuli head of a prince(?) wearing a crenellated crown; completion of the excavations in the northern and eastern areas of the Hall of One Hundred Columns.

1947–49: uncovering of adjacent rooms to the east of the Hall of One Hundred Columns; discovery of a lapis lazuli standard with the design of an eagle (12.5 × 12.5 × 32 cm). In August of this year Javad Zakatali began to make his model of the ruins at Persepolis, which he finished in 1951.

1949–51: excavation at southern rooms of the Harem and northern area of the thirty-two-columned hall; investigations at the Palace of Artaxerxes III (Palace H) in southwestern corner of the terrace.

1952: clearing of the area known as the Main Mound, to the west of the Harem. The excavation at the Main Mound yielded a silver coin of Ardashir I. Sāmi thought that the central parts of the terrace, including the Main Mound, were better preserved and may have been reoccupied after the burning and abandonment of Persepolis. The Mound, in fact, covers a surface of 1,982 m² and is 1.5 m higher than the Palace of Xerxes. It was toward the end of this season that Sāmi resumed the excavation of a large palatial structure in the southern plain, which had been discovered earlier by Herzfeld. It lies about 500 m south of the terrace, close to the mountain. It is a square twelve-columned hall covering an area of 240 m². One of the column bases bears the name of Xerxes, much the same as in the other structures of the southern plain (Godard 1946: 267). Sāmi (1348/1969: 335–36) reports on “some traces of burning on the walls and on the floor as well, while the floor of the main hall was covered with a red plaster similar to that found at the Treasury.”⁴⁹ At this time, Sāmi was able to excavate another important monument situated in the southern plain. It is the closest building of the plain to the terrace. Although it is called the Small Apadana, its main four-columned hall covers a surface of about 324 m² (fig. 22). The main hall is flanked by three two-columned porticos. Unlike the other buildings in this area, the columns of this monument were entirely of stone and possessed lion-creature capitals much like those of the eastern portico of the Apadana. This palace was also distinguished from the others by its separated location close to the Takht (about 140 m south of its southwest angle). The last extant column of this monument, 10 m high, was destroyed a few years prior to the visit of William Ouseley in 1811 (cf. Schmidt 1957: 62). Flandin and Coste (1843–54: 2:pls. 66–67) included this building in their general map of the site. Dieulafoy (1885: pl. II) gives an early plan of the building as it could be seen in the 1880s. Sāmi’s report (1348/1969: 338–39) is unfortunately very brief, and no details are provided.⁵⁰

1953–54: no work at Persepolis.

1954–56: excavation at the northern part of the Takht, beyond the main avenue linking the two gates.

FIG. 20.
*Professor and Mrs.
 Krefter working on
 the model of
 Persepolis, probably
 in 1966. Photo
 courtesy of Dr. H.
 Krefter.*



Excavation in front of Tomb V in Schmidt's numbering scheme (Schmidt 1970: 99–102) and Tomb VI (Schmidt 1970: 102–7).

1956–58: beginning of the excavation in the area east of the Treasury. Excavation of the rest of the eastern fortifications and the garrison quarters; discovery of the missing fragment of the Elamite version of the Daiva inscription (Cameron 1959).

Sāmi stopped excavating in 1959, and until his retirement in 1962, no significant excavation was done at the site. It should, however, be noted that restoration and conservation of the structures regularly followed Sāmi's excavation activities. One conservation measure that Godard and Sāmi adopted was to protect the reliefs of the eastern staircase of the Apadana. As Godard (1946: 268–69) explains:

L'eau n'est dangereuse à Persépolis qu'en cas de gel, mais il ne pleut pas souvent à Persépolis, et il ne gel guère. De plus, il est facile d'empêcher l'humidité de pénétrer dans la pierre en enduisant sa surface d'une encaustique quelconque. Nous en avons fait l'expérience avec du succès. Nous avons acquis la certitude que cette pierre rendue imperméable à l'eau est

soigneusement défendue du soleil, se conserverait parfaitement en plein air.

In another measure, he affixed a folding wooden roof over the staircase. He explains the purpose as follows: "Et c'est pourquoi bien qu'à contre-coeur, peu fier du résultat esthétique de notre initiative, nous avons construit au-dessus des bas-reliefs à conserver, sur des piliers, une toiture en terrasse qui les maintient dans l'ombre."

Contrary to his assessment, this latter measure proved to be both aesthetic and protective, while the other measure was unfortunate. Alas, the wooden canopy was discarded in the late 1960s and never replaced.⁵¹ An unwise protective device was adopted more recently: a huge metallic roof was installed over the eastern staircase of the Apadana and that of the Central Building. This roof, supposedly set up to protect the reliefs from the sun, is too elevated. The rays of the sun easily penetrate and reach one section or another of the reliefs at almost every time of day.

In 1961, a branch of the German Archaeological Institute was opened in Tehran, the direction of which was entrusted to Heinz Luschey, who had an idea for constructing a model of Persepolis as early as 1963. Later, with the support of Kurt Bittel, then

president of the Institute in Berlin, Luschey encouraged Krefter to make a 1/200 model of Persepolis, his genius once again being brought to bear upon the challenges of reconstructing Persepolis. There were certain serious problems, such as the reconstruction of cornices, ceilings, and roofing and the reconstruction of the poorly preserved and enigmatic Palaces G and D. Krefter ingeniously overcame these problems, as he had done thirty years before in reconstructing the Harem of Xerxes. The model was in wood (fig. 20). The platform measured 3.30×2.75 m, with a height of 10 cm. For transportation reasons, it was divided into three parts, 1.10×2.75 m each, which could be screwed together. A fourth part represented the mountain district with the two rock-cut tombs and the cistern. The platform was made out of plywood, whereas the palaces, gatehouses, and walls were in balsa wood to keep the model light in weight. The architectural details were cut out of cardboard with a very fine electric saw fitted out with a magnifying lens. These elements were then pasted together and modeled afterward with liquid wood applied with a very fine brush (Krefter 1969; 1971; 1972). In February 1967, the *Auswärtiges Amt* in Bonn had solicited Krefter to begin working on the model. In its finished state it was a masterpiece—worthy of its presentation as a coronation gift to the king of Iran, Mohammad-Reza Shah Pahlavi, by Dr. Heinrich Lübke, president of the Federal Republic of Germany. Sadly, this model ended up in a darkened storeroom of the Iran Bastan Museum. Another model, smaller than the first, was conceived by Krefter on the occasion of his eightieth birthday and is now held in the Charlottenburg Museum in Germany (Trümpelmann 1988).⁵²

In 1964, a team of Italian restorers in collaboration with the Iranian National Office for Conservation of Historical Monuments began an expansive program of restoring historical monuments in Iran that lasted until 1979. The restoration work, first started by Cesare Carbone, was subsequently entrusted to Giuseppe Tilia. It involved an immense amount of study, practical experimentation, and patiently exercised skill. Ann Britt Tilia's publications on this restoration work at Persepolis have remarkably enriched our knowledge of Achaemenid architecture (Carbone 1968; Tilia 1972; 1978).

RESUMPTION OF WORK

In the fall of 1968, Akbar Tadjvidi proposed undertaking a new program of research at Persepolis and other sites of the Marv-Dasht plain with three main aims:

- (1) investigation of the “origin of Achaemenid civilization and its early manifestations in Fars”;
- (2) establishment of a regional stratigraphy that would clarify the chronology of the plain at the time of the Persian empire (Tadjvidi 1347/1968).⁵³ This project proposed to open soundings in the southern plain adjacent to the terrace of Persepolis, at Istakhr, and at Pasargadae.
- (3) establishment of a practical buffer zone for the site of Persepolis and its adjacent remains in order to implement more effective protection.⁵⁴

One point on which Tadjvidi insisted was to hire workers who provided continuity with the earlier work of Sāmi and who were local people with a sensitivity to the Persepolitan landscape and the idiosyncrasies of its terrain. One reason why continuity among workers was considered a priority was that Herzfeld never fully published the results of his excavations, and Sāmi's reports, though useful and published promptly, lacked precision. Thus continuity of workers would provide anecdotal information about past efforts. For Tadjvidi this continuity was even more important than the workers' level of technical skill. Although the most skilled excavators, as a group, came from the ranks of those who had served the French Mission at Susa over generations, the faith Tadjvidi placed in the local workers trained by Sāmi was validated by results. Furthermore, his strategy of hiring local people of Fars bore fruit as his excavations pursued initiatives reaching far beyond the strict confines of the Takht.

Akbar Tadjvidi was born into a family of artists. Himself a painter, he studied art history and archaeology in Paris. In his ambitious program for Persepolis, he was assisted by various people, among whom were Mahmud Kordovani (an experienced archaeologist from the GOA) as field director for three seasons, Mahmud Mousavi (first as field assistant and later as field director), and Mohammad



FIG. 21.

Persepolis, spring 1970. Left to right: Asnā'ashar (assistant director of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis), Mohammad Mehriyar (architect of the mission), Akbar Tadjvidi (director of excavations), Asghar Banā'i (director of the Office for Restoration of Historical Monuments), Giuseppe Tilia (restorer), Hosseyn Tayeb-Na'imī (director of the Archaeological Office in Shiraz), Mahmud Mousavi (field assistant), Mahmud Kordovāni (field assistant), and Jafar Ra'nai (director of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis). Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

Mehriyar (as architect and draftsman) (fig. 21). Armed with an excellent staff as well as with a keen personal sense of aesthetics and urbanism, Tadjvidi was the first excavator of Persepolis who saw the monumental platform as a core feature of a much larger settlement. Thanks in significant measure to his vision and his project, Parseh can now be presented graphically with confidence as an urban entity with installations in the plain that served a large regional arena as well as the specialized activities on the Takht (fig. 22). It was with the idea of investigating the notion of an Achaemenid urbanism that he started to pursue and direct fresh archaeological activities at Takht-e Jamshid.

The Iranian GOA welcomed and approved Tadjvidi's proposal in 1968, with the actual field-work starting in the spring of 1969. The remarkable

rapidity with which the bureaucracy acted on this matter must be understood against a specific backdrop—one that lent energy and support to the archaeological mission but also conditioned and challenged it. The 2,500th Anniversary of Iranian Monarchy was to be celebrated in the fall of 1350/1971. Among the conditions and constraints Tadjvidi dealt with was the necessity of carrying out work that would not hinder preparation for the grand festivities that would highlight the glorious ruins on the Takht. In return for this accommodation, Tadjvidi's research program would benefit from the generous funds available for the preparation of the festivities.

An additional benefit of the arrangement was that it fostered the creation of an organization at Persepolis that could generate research programs

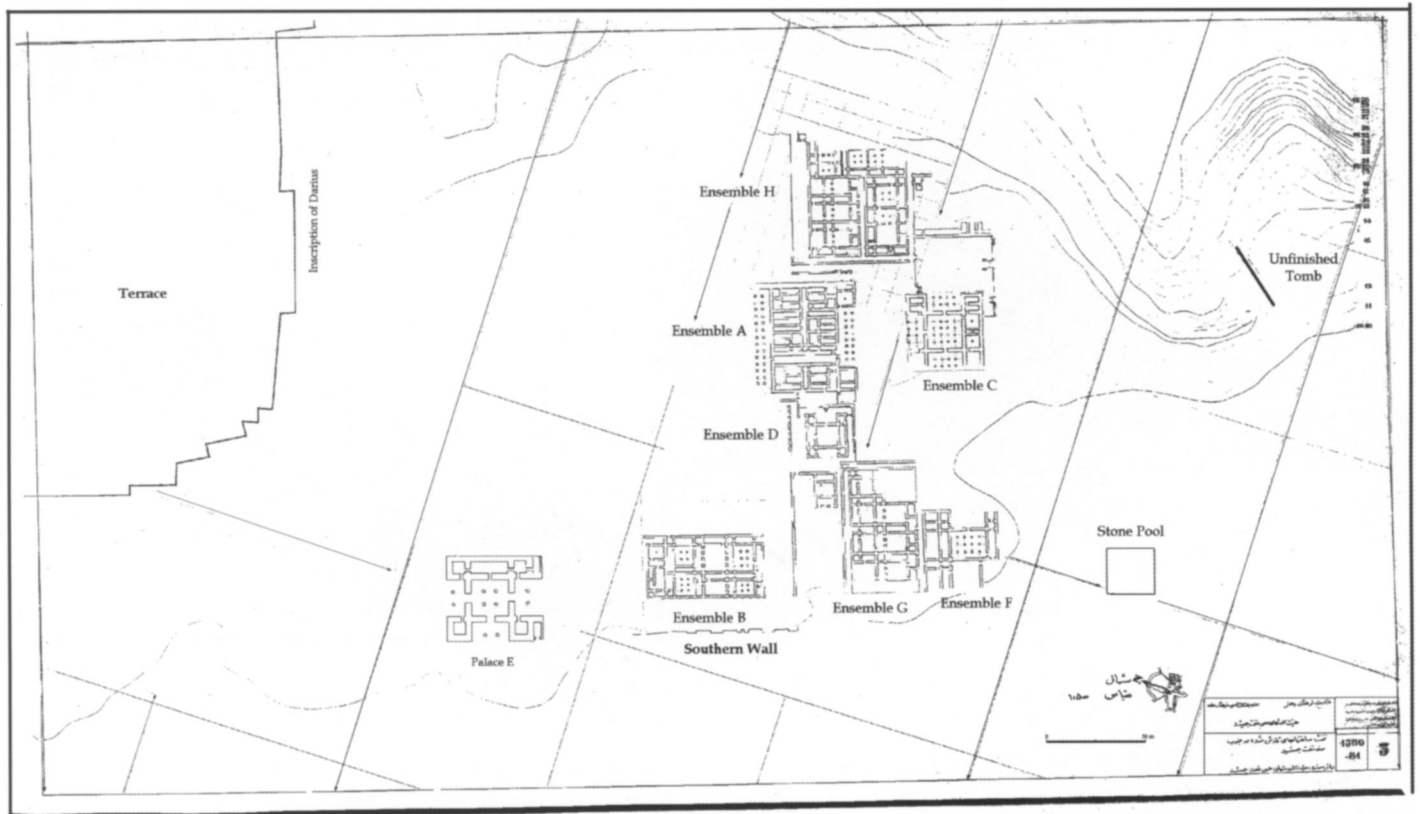


FIG. 22.

Plan of the excavated area south of the terrace of Persepolis. Adapted from Tadjvidi 1355/1976: fig. 22.

quite independently. This initiative was welcomed by the authorities in the Ministry of Culture and Arts. The activities of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis, founded by Sāmi in the late 1950s, had been considerably reduced a decade later. Thus, Tadjvidi suggested a research institute for Achaemenid studies based right at Persepolis in the late 1960s. With the appointment of Ali Shapur Shahbazi as director of the Scientific Bureau of Persepolis, this idea was realized. The Institute of Achaemenid Studies (Bonyād-e Tahqiqāt-e Hakhāmaneshi) was founded and became operational in 1973.

Although Tadjvidi's excavations were prematurely interrupted in 1972 and were never resumed, his initiatives had far-reaching consequences for the legacy of Persepolis studies in Iran. They also had far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the site, as we shall now see.

Initially Tadjvidi chose four areas to be tested at Persepolis:

- (1) the top of Mount Rahmat, where the eastern fortification system of the site could be explored;
- (2–3) areas to the south and to the northwest of the stone courtyard (Complex C); and
- (4) an area to the southeast of the Four-columned Hall (Complex E, or the Small Apadana).⁵⁵

The grid system adopted by Schmidt's topographers (squares of 100 × 100 m) was maintained in order to transfer new discoveries to the preestablished general plan of the site. An illustrated and substantial report on these excavations was fortunately published in Persian (Tadjvidi 1355/1976), providing the basis for the present analysis. Although two brief notes on important finds were also published in English (Tadjvidi 1970; 1973), for more than three decades Tadjvidi's full publication has remained inaccessible to most scholars in the field.

The book is divided into two principal parts. The first section consists of a long introduction entitled



FIG. 23.
General view of excavations in the southern plain below the Takht in 1968. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.



FIG. 24.
Trench revealing a section of the southern foundation wall of one of the brick platforms in the plain, upon which various architectural ensembles were erected. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

“In Search of the City of Parseh.” It deals with different problems of identifying and locating the city of Persepolis, the heart of which is marked by the huge stone Takht (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 6–41). This introduction gives a full account of archaeological and historical evidence and extends the study to another chapter entitled “Was Persepolis Ever a Capital in the Achaemenid Empire?” Here Tadjvidi examines the importance and *raison d’être* of Persepolis as a city within the empire. His conclusion is that Persepolis, “without being necessarily a capital, was a sacred and symbolic place for the Persians in the heart of their homeland, an earthly manifestation of a heavenly world with which our ancestors, by virtue of their religious education, were familiar, and one that was kept hidden from foreigners’ eyes” (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 55, my translation; Mousavi 1992: 204–7).

The next chapter is an account of the excavations; the second half of the book deals specifically with the excavation of the palatial complexes in the southern plain and the fortifications on top of the mountain (Tadjvidi 1969; 1970; 1973; 1355/

1976; for full bibliography, see Vanden Berghe 1979: 56).

In the plain, aside from the excavation of seven architectural complexes (excluding Complex E, or the Small Apadana, close to the terrace), Tadjvidi was determined to explore the southern wall of the terrace and its relation to the structures located outside the platform (figs. 23–24). Earlier, Sāmi had dug quite a deep sounding (6 m) here, at the foot of what was called the “pre-rampart” wall near the inscription of Darius I. The question of why Darius should have wanted to place his inscription in such an inconspicuous spot was Tadjvidi’s motivation to do some research in this area. His idea was to follow the water canals on the platform at the edge of the southern wall in this area since they had been altered following the modification of this portion of the wall. This investigation has enabled us to reconstruct a history of the southern wall as well as traces of the substructure of a staircase once planned for this location (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 60–61; Mousavi 1992: 212) (fig. 25).

The other discovery at this spot allowed the

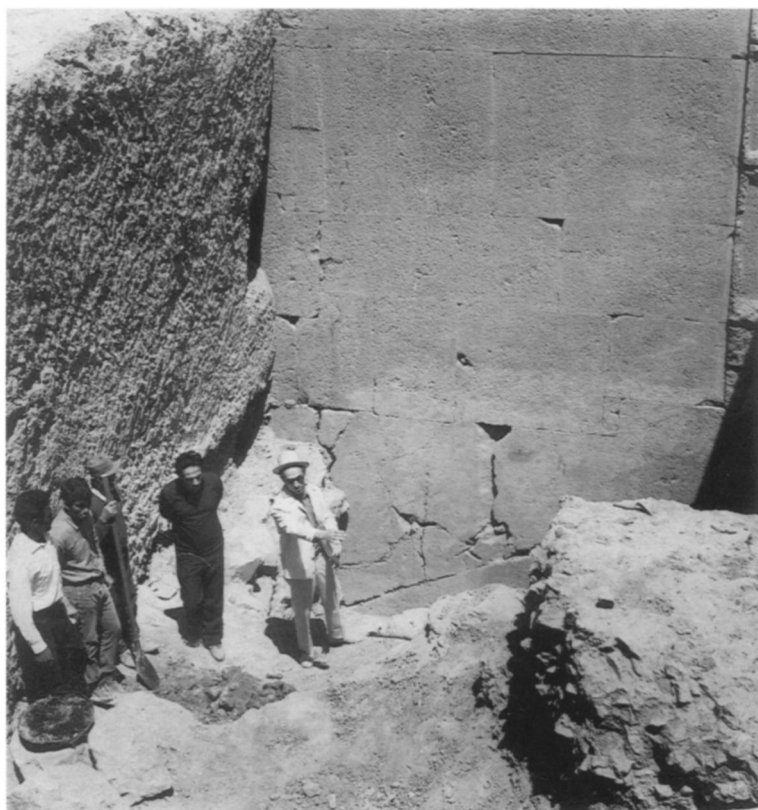


FIG. 25.

View of the “Deep Trench” at the foot of the southern wall of the Persepolis Takht during the 1971–72 season. Akbar Tadjvidi (dressed in white) gives instructions, while his field assistant, Mahmoud Mousavi (in black) stands between Tadjvidi and members of the work crew. Second from left is Ali Zārʿe, who emerged as one of the most distinguished foremen ever trained in Iranian archaeology. Photo courtesy of M. Mousavi.

excavator to suggest the existence of a channel or ditch, at least at the foot of the southern wall. Hākemi had earlier suggested that a ditch might have extended around the platform, serving both to guarantee a supply of water and to provide protection for the terrace (Hākemi 1349/1970 and pers. com. 21 November 1988; Mousavi 1992: 220). Tadjvidi’s team also found traces of burning in a small columned hall (fig. 26) (Tadjvidi 1354/1975: 10). The charred remains were not, however, submitted to radiocarbon analysis.

The most important Iranian excavation in this period was the exploration of the fortifications on top of Mount Rahmat. Herzfeld (1929a) had already documented the existence of these structures, and Schmidt (1939: 8, fig. 4) had pinpointed them on his aerial analysis of the site. Tadjvidi decided to excavate a portion of the upper fortifications, which comprised three towers and their adjacent structures (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 187–213). Aside from the originality of architectural features and some 150 iron arrowheads, the most interesting artifactual discovery here was a collection of anepigraphic sealed

clay tablets. Most of them bear impressions of one cylinder seal that is identical to one already known from the Persepolis Treasury archive (Seal 28 [now designated PTS 28], published by Schmidt 1957: 10–11, 29, and pl. 9). This seal displays a martial scene featuring a victor in the Persian court robe dragging three Greek captives behind him while spearing a fourth (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 201–7; 1973; Garrison and Root 2001: 34).

In terms of architecture, most of the arrowslits in the mudbrick fortification walls were found obstructed, and several small rooms in the fortifications revealed traces of abandonment. Tadjvidi dates the fortifications to an early phase of construction activities and insists that they had already been abandoned before the destruction of the city by the Macedonian troops in 330 B.C.E. (Tadjvidi 1355/1976: 212).

The most profound overarching significance of Tadjvidi’s program rests with his attempt to prove the existence of urbanism at Persepolis and to articulate the nature of that urbanism. The interruption of his work in 1972 was a devastating blow to the long

FIG. 26.
*View of the burned two-columned
hall, located in Complex H on the
southern plain, during the 1971—
72 season. Photo courtesy of M.
Mousavi.*



FIG. 27.
*View from Mount Rahmat of the
southern sector of the Takht
(directly east of the Treasury)
and out over the Tent City constructed
to celebrate the 2,500th
Anniversary of the Monarchy in
1971. Photo courtesy of M.
Mousavi.*



tradition of archaeological activity there. Had Tadjvidi been able to continue his investigations, we might be better equipped than we are now to deal with the complex and historiographically charged questions of what kind of place, in fact, Parseh was meant to be in the reign of its founder, Darius I, what it had become by the time of the last Achaemenid king, Darius III, and what its reception has been through the vicissitudes of subsequent ages (fig. 27).

As things stand now, the palatial complexes of Parseh are in desperate need of protection and restoration. A limited rescue excavation was carried out in the spring of 1975. Torrential rains had eroded the vestiges of the eastern section of the Central Building. Here there had originally been a vestibule east of the eastern doorway (linked to the Harem) and a long side room. The combined forces of early excavations and natural erosion of construction thus disturbed had demolished this part of the core—to the extent of turning it into an ugly slope of debris level with the Apadana courtyard. Rains had even endangered the foundation of the eastern doorway. Though opposed to any excavation in the absence of the head of restoration efforts, Giuseppe Tilia, Shahbazi had to take action in order to prevent further damage. He cleaned out the area at the foot of the eastern doorway and then reinforced it. During the cleaning mudbrick fragments (33×33 cm) were found, as well as paint pigments of yellow, red, and Egyptian blue, which had once been applied to the reliefs. Sculpture fragments were also uncovered. The largest one was a piece about the size of a fist, showing well-groomed beard curls. To the northeast of the doorway, Shahbazi encountered foundations of a mudbrick wall that had originally formed the northern wall of the vestibule (and so blocked the southeastern corner of the Apadana courtyard). This wall partly existed until earlier excavators leveled it to join the Apadana courtyard to the Harem. Aside from this, Shahbazi did two other things. He restored the stone staircase linking the Harem courtyard to the original vestibule leading to the Apadana courtyard. In fact, the spot had become a dangerous slope and yet was always used by visitors to and from the Harem. He walled up the eastern sector of the Central Building with stone slabs, thus “reconstructing the original

form” (Shahbazi pers. com.) of the main hall and its southern portico. He also wanted to continue the work and restore the foundation of the vestibule and long side room. For this reason he reconstructed the retaining wall west of the Harem courtyard, but when it had come to a 7-m height, this project was halted on Tilia’s suggestion.⁵⁶ During Shahbazi’s tenure, the site was regularly restored and conserved until the end of the 1970s. After 1979, the direction of the site was handed over several times to different people whose interest could not go beyond daily administrative matters.

At first glance, it seems difficult to draw conclusions about the significance of archaeological excavations at Persepolis. The site has been a symbol of identity in Iran since its foundation. This extraordinary significance has in some ways encouraged scientific exploration of the ruins and in other respects tended to deflect energies. A great many questions remain to be asked of Parseh. The excavations to date have certainly enriched our knowledge of the Achaemenid empire significantly. But in some ways we still know remarkably little of the archaeology of Fars (its material culture, pottery sequencing, and the like) in the Achaemenid period. Despite the intensity of archaeological activity at Persepolis from the 1930s into the 1970s, a great deal of surface area on the Takht and in the southern plain remains to be investigated. Excavation has tended to focus on the uncovering of major monumental structures in both areas, with the most notable exception to this trend being work on the fortifications first by Herzfeld and then (more systematically and extensively) by Tadjvidi.

In spite of these regrets and hopes for future work that may adequately address such issues, there is another aspect of the contribution of the Persepolis excavations that deserves note. The effect of these excavations on the future of Iranian archaeology has been great. It was the project for the preservation of Persepolis that inspired the Iranian government to approve an Antiquities Law, which subsequently promoted and regulated archaeological activities in the country. Moreover, the archaeological excavations at Persepolis have provided numerous opportunities for training in excavation technique, restoration, and interpretive research, the

results of which have been remarkable not only in terms of the obvious explosion of art-historical/historical discussion based on the revelations of the last century but also in terms of technical achievement in Iran.⁵⁷

Unlike the mounds at Susa, where the French had been digging since the late nineteenth century, the excavations at Persepolis have benefited from a remarkably high profile, including regular official visits of kings and queens. It has been said that the Iranians are bound by a three-way magnetic attraction to their place within the historical landscape. They are bound to their glorious ancient past, to the religious and spiritual impact of Islam, and to the technological and modernizing appeal of the West. Parseh seems to satisfy the complex and sometimes intertwining urgencies of all three of these profound impulses. □

Notes

I am very grateful to Margaret Cool Root, whose help, encouragement, and constructive suggestions made the publication of the present contribution possible.

1. The name Parseh appears in Old Persian as Pārsa in Achaemenid sources, including the Old Persian version of the trilingual inscription on the Gate of All Lands (Lecoq 1997: 251). In Elamite administrative texts it was rendered Parša (e.g., tablets in the Persepolis Fortification archive indexed in Hallock 1969: 742). For the meanings of the name and its etymology, see Shahbazi 1977: 197–99; for issues in the historiography of the conventional use of the name Persepolis, see Root 1980.

2. These inscriptions were originally published in translation by Herzfeld (1914). See Schmidt 1953: 223 n. 11 and Sāmi 1348/1969: 246–47.

3. The degree to which such emulations reflected historical awareness of the Achaemenids in precise terms is another issue (viz., Roaf 1998).

4. In later times, the naming tradition by reference to the remarkable soaring columns at the site might vary to indicate different numbers—such as the commonly used epithet Čehel-Minar (forty columns). The idea remained focused on conveying their marvelous abundance as a defining physical feature of the ruins.

5. Lecoq 1997: 229 on DPf, the Elamite text that uses a transcription of Old Persian gātu (in the sense of throne).

6. In the seventeenth century the Spaniard Don Garcia Silva Figueroa was the first European to publish an attribution of the ruins to the Persepolis of classical authors, but some probable allusions to Persepolis are contained in accounts of fourteenth-century travelers (the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone and the emissary of Venice, Josaphat Barbaro). See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 3–5.

7. Wieshöfer (1996: 300–302) offers a useful bibliographic commentary.

8. Le Strange and Nicholson 1921: 126–27. The exact name of the author of the *Farsnameh* is as yet unknown, but in the introduction Le Strange argued that the book, dedicated to Sultan Qiyass-eddin Muhammad (498–511 A.H./1104–17), was probably composed sometime during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth century C.E.

9. Mostafavi's rendering in 1978 contains some typographical errors that had crept into the edition of the text he was using for his work. I have corrected these errors here, based upon the original text in the 1996 Sadeqi edition (see Hamadani 590 A.H./1194).

10. For more details on his diplomatic role and explorations in Persia, see Wright 1977: 6–7, 15, 17, 151–52; Gabriel 1952: chap. 19.

11. The subterranean drainage system was later explored in the course of excavations carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in the 1930s (Schmidt 1953: 210).

12. Later, Ouseley decorated the staircase in his London house with some of the reliefs from Persepolis (Curtis 1998: 48). Eventually they were presented to the British Museum, with the exception of two pieces. Curtis (1998: 50) writes on the fate of these two fragments and how one of them ended up in the Miho Museum in Japan. Adle (2000: 238 n. 10) provides further details on the sale of these fragments at Sotheby's in London.

13. Thanks to the pioneering excavations carried out by Herzfeld in the early 1930s, Friedrich Krefter, the architect of the mission, was able to distinguish and record traces of paint on one of the reliefs in the Palace of Xerxes (Herzfeld 1941; Krefter 1989). More investigations of color on the reliefs were conducted in depth much later by the Italian restoration team (Tilia 1978).

14. I am indebted to Dr. Shahryar Adle for putting at my disposition his vast knowledge of the history of photography in Iran. It was he who first drew my attention to the existence of L. Pesce's photographs and Nassereddin Shah's projects for photographing the ruins of Persepolis.

15. Colonel Luigi Pesce entered into the service of the Qajars in the late 1840s on a mission to train Iranian soldiers. Heinrich Brugsch of the royal Prussian legation met him in Tehran in the early 1860s and described him as “a friendly Italian officer in the service of the Shah.” Brugsch borrowed a few photographs from Pesce in order to make gravures for his travel book (Brugsch 1862: viii). For Pesce’s life and career, see Zoka 1376/1997: 19; Adle in press.
16. The introduction in the album is in Persian, published in Zoka 1376/1997: 22. It seems that Pesce, interested in photography, sent two other albums of photographs documenting the monuments of Iran—one to Count Cavour in Rome, the other to Wilhelm I, emperor of Prussia (Zoka 1376/1997: 22).
17. Pesce’s photographs are conserved in the Golestan Palace in Tehran.
18. Aqā Reza was trained by the Frenchman Francis Carlhian, who came to Iran at the end of 1858. He remained in Iran for the rest of his life, teaching at the Dār-ol-Fonun (the School of Polytechnic in Tehran) (Adle 2000: 231).
19. For an account of the prince’s style of rulership, see Nāvvab-Sāfā 1366/1988: 48–75.
20. The inscription was carved on one of the windows of the main hall of the Palace of Darius. For the text, see Sāmi 1348/1969: 258.
21. It was Friedrich Stolze, the German archaeologist visiting Persepolis a few months later, who reported on the number of workers (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991: 29).
22. This is noted in *Vaqāye-e Eṭṭefāqiyeh* and cited in Nāvvab-Sāfā 1366/1988: 132. See also Adle 2000: 233.
23. An impressive collection of photographs of Iranian sites was produced by Sevruguin, an Armenian photographer who resided in Tehran, on commission from Friedrich Sarre for Herzfeld and Sarre’s *Iranische Felsrelief*, published in 1910 (Bohrer 1999).
24. It was Lord Savile and Cecil Smith who had obtained the necessary royal permission from Mozaffereddin Shah. These two defrayed the travel costs of the expedition, and Weld-Blundell undertook at his own expense the work of superintending the project (Simpson 2002).
25. Chemical analyses of the “Egyptian blue” remnants from Persepolis were published in Schmidt 1957: 133–35. A systematic survey of color in Persepolis appears in Tilia 1998 but with acknowledgment that more comprehensive chemical analysis still needs to be done.
26. According to Mostafavi, Reza Khan made the trip to welcome Ahmad Shah on his arrival home from Europe (Mostafavi 1355/1976: 3).
27. Colleen Hennessey (1992: fig. 2) has published a rare photograph of one of those visits.
28. Herzfeld Papers, notebook 84 [Persien II, 1923–24], series 2, 30.
29. Herzfeld had long had a serious scholarly interest in Pasargadae (Herzfeld 1908). For his publication of the archaeological work there in 1928, see Herzfeld 1929b and 1941, with later commentaries in Stronach 1978.
30. The original text in French has been published in *Documents on Archaeology* 1380/2001: 474–75.
31. Much information and bibliography on the Pope-Herzfeld relationship appears in the articles collected in Gunter and Hauser forthcoming.
32. For a general account of Herzfeld’s work at Persepolis, see now Dusinberre forthcoming.
33. This was a response to the Iranian ambassador, who had apparently transferred complaints made by Pope and the French government as well. Letter dated 11 Bahman 1309 H.S./31 January 1931, archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published in Karimlou 1381/2001: 158.
34. The stairway was later transferred from its original place to the Iran Bastan Museum in Tehran.
35. Because the east stairway façade of the Apadana had been long buried, its reliefs were virtually pristine in contrast to the much damaged and pilfered reliefs of the north stairway façade. The comparisons are readily appreciated in the plates of Schmidt 1953.
36. Herzfeld briefly reported on the results of his soundings at Istakhr in Herzfeld 1941: 276.
37. For a selection of 2,087 of the Elamite texts, see Hallock 1969. Much has been written since then working with the texts as historical documents (e.g., Briant 1996 and Wiesehöfer 1996 passim, both with bibliographies). See Garrison and Root 2001: 23–32 (for a discussion of the complexities of Herzfeld’s discovery of the archive) and the book more generally (for full publication of volume 1 of the seals applied to the tablets that had been presented by Hallock in 1969).
38. See Charles Breasted’s illustrated article in the *National Geographic* (Breasted 1933: 384). The newspaper *Ettela’at* also gave a detailed account of the visit (Afsar and Mousavi 1355/1976: 90–93).
39. These fragments are now in Stockholm (Ådahl 1978).

40. For additional material on Herzfeld's resignation, see Mousavi 1382/2003: 40.
41. For his biography, see Haines 1965; *National Encyclopaedia of American Biography* 1969: 51:671–72.
42. For the DPh text, see Cameron 1959 and Lecoq 1997: 104–5, 256–58. For various interpretations, see Lukonin and Dandamaev 1989: 353–54; Briant 1996: 568–70.
43. For the discovery of the reliefs, see Schmidt 1957: 162–69. The Tilias' findings are presented in Tilia 1972: 175–208.
44. During the German occupation of France, Godard and his wife, Yedda, were members of the French Resistance backed by General De Gaulle. In the service of the Resistance, Godard was appointed the Délégué Général de la France Libre to Iran. The Iran Bastan Museum Library preserves to this day issues of the *Revue de France Libre*, published by the Godards in Tehran during World War II.
45. In 1926, the Antiquities Office had only one archaeological mission. By contrast, the GOA was expansive in its mandate, and in 1964 the number of archaeological missions ran to fourteen. By 1971, this effort had grown to fifty-one missions working under its auspices and supervision. These offices were then regrouped after the Islamic Revolution under the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran. For a detailed background and the various names of the organization, see Malek-Shahmirzadi 1369/1990: 408–11.
46. For a short biography of A. Sāmi, see Mousavi 1990.
47. Sāmi's work at Persepolis was also summarized in a condensed English version (Sāmi 1955).
48. Hākemi is well known for his excavations at Kaluraz, in Guilan, and at the important site of Shahdad. His early study of the topography at Persepolis is a less-known but important contribution (Hākemi 1349/1970). This article is summarized in Mousavi 1992.
49. Sāmi does not give any further information, but Schmidt (1957: 48, fig. 14) published Herzfeld's plan of this edifice. The whole structure was to be carefully investigated and mapped during Tadjvidi's excavations in the 1970s.
50. For a discussion of different aspects of this building, see Mousavi 1999: 150.
51. For a photograph of the canopy, see Mostafavi 1978: 120, picture 52.
52. I am indebted to Dr. Heiko Krefter, son of the late Friedrich Krefter, who kindly provided me with some invaluable photographs of his father's, some of which I publish in the present article.
53. Schmidt had tried in vain to establish a chronology for the whole region on the basis of ceramic sequences (Balcer 1991: 170), while Tadjvidi's program would essentially be concentrated on the Achaemenid period.
54. A few years ago, when I was in charge of the preparation of the World Heritage file for the site of Naqsh-e Rostam, I realized that the site was included in the theoretical buffer zone of Persepolis, which is too large. This hypothetical zone is supposed to cover several sites in the region of Persepolis, including Naqsh-e Rostam, Naqsh-e Rajab, and the vast site of Istakhr. Consequently, the whole area was conceived as a single monument.
55. That is the structure excavated by Herzfeld and Sāmi.
56. The report prepared by the excavator and sent to Tehran was never published. I thank Dr. Ali Shapur Shahbazi for giving me the information on his excavation.
57. In fact, the best restorers of stone monuments in Iran today are those who trained at Persepolis; equally the best excavation foremen still come from Persepolis.

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